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Female Representation Among State Legislative Elite: The Illinois General Assembly 1922-1986

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FEMALE REPRESENTATION AMONG STATE LEGISLATIVE ELITE:

THE ILLINOIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY 1922 - 1986

(TITLE)

BY

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THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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YEAR

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ABSTRACT

This study of female representation in the Illinois General Assembly examines 33 general assemblies, beginning with the 53rd General Assembly - election year, 1922 - at which time the first woman was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives. Trend lines are used to describe changes in female representation over the 64-year period. The effect of changes in the electoral system and the institutional structure are examined. Social and demographic characteristics of women legislators in Illinois are discussed. This data is then compared to data on legislators elected to the 83rd General Assembly.

Over the 64-year period covered in this study only 83 women have been elected to the Illinois General Assembly. Between 1922 and 1986, ten (10) women have served in the Illinois Senate; sixty-two (62) have served in the Illinois House of Representatives and eleven (11) women have held office in both chambers. Thus, overall, women have occupied 21 seats in the Senate and 73 seats in the House of Representatives.

Since 1922, women have achieved legislative seats in every subsequent session of the legislature. Initially, the numbers of women legislators were minimal, but their presence yielded a stable base for future progress. Only since the 1970's have women realized a substantial growth in their numbers of legislative seats. The last decade of Illinois politics has witnessed steadily increasing levels of female

representation at the State House in Springfield. The election of 1972 was a turning point in the representation of women in the legislature. From this point, the ranks of women legislators grew exponentially. As of the 1986 election, women comprised 18% of the total General Assembly membership, which was slightly higher than the national average of 15.8% . Today, women legislators are entrenched in both houses of the Illinois General Assembly.

Fifty (50) of the 83 women elected have been Republicans and the remaining 33 have been Democrats. Sixty percent (60%) of all women elected to the General Assembly thus far have been Republicans. The most recent election of this study, the 1986 election, is characterized by a significant levelling-off in the disproportionate ratio of Republican women to Democrat women. Although it is too early to state definitively, it appears that the level of female representation in the state legislature is becoming similar for both political parties.

When compared to their male counterparts, women legislators in Illinois are similar in regard to both ascribed and achieved characteristics. The results of this study point to an ever-increasing likeness between men and women state legislative elite in Illinois. Based upon the findings for the Illinois General Assembly, it is apparent that the political opportunity structure is more open to women than ever before. To some extent (although not an "equal" or proportional extent), women share in the power of the once exclusively-male legislature.

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INTRODUCTION

Today, women constitute the majority of the U.S. electorate. In recent years, women have voted in rates similar to men (Baxter & Lansing, 1983; Bolce, 1985). As well, gender differences in participation rates of other forms of political activity have diminished (Lynn, 1984). Women have emerged as active citizen-participants in the political processes of the United States and have significant influence in present-day elections.

Despite these gains in political status, women remain significantly underrepresented at all levels of U.S. political institutions. Although women comprise nearly 53% of the American electorate, as of 1988 only 15.8% of all state legislative seats are held by women. Moreover, dramatic state-to-state variations exist. (Ms., April, 1988: 79)

The range of female representation levels is broad. The lowest percentage of female state legislators is in Mississippi, where only 2.3% of the Legislature is women. New Hampshire boasts the highest number of women state lawmakers, who represent 32.5% of total legislators (Tomasson, 1987).

When one examines the racial composition of female representation, the number of minority women legislators is even smaller. Out of the fifty states, twenty have no black women legislators and 43 have no women of Hispanic descent. The national average for black women holding legislative seats is 1.2% and for Hispanic women .2% (Tomasson, 1987).

Together, these groups of women comprise 8.9% of female legislators and 1.4% of all legislators. Unlike white female legislators, minority women have experienced a decline of over 5% in the number of legislative seats held.

Since 1985, the national percentage of legislative seats held by women (again, primarily white women) has increased over 10%. In 1969, women accounted for a mere 4% of all state legislators. In every election over the past 18 years, the number of women state legislators has risen (Tomasson, 1987). So, for some women in some states, progress has been made.

Statistics regarding female representation at the national level, however, indicate the historical absence of women in the nation's most powerful political institutions. Within the 100th Congress, women represented only 4.5% of all the nation's Senators and Representatives (Tomasson, 1987). The paucity of women among the "ruling elite" reflects the reality of representational democracy in the United States.

What factors account for this pervasive phenomenon ? Explanations for the historically low rates of political participation of women and lack of entrenchment in elective office have been the focus of fast-growing scholarship within the discipline of political science. After decades of acquiescence to the belief that women were inherently apolitical, researchers have actively investigated gender-differences in political activity as a legitimate and significant research concern.

In this study, I examine women as political elites at the state legislative level, specifically women elected to the Illinois General Assembly over-time. The state level was selected as the unit of analysis for two reasons: 1.) the largest numbers of women elected officials are found in state legislatures and 2.) the office of state legislator is a "base" office in the political opportunity structure of national legislators (Schlesinger, 1962). In part, larger numbers of women state legislators are accounted for by the higher seat turnover rate at the state level (Tomasson, 1987).

A recent study conducted by the Center for the American Woman and Politics, an extension of Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute of Politics, confirms the historical role of the state legislature as a steppingstone to Congress. Moreover, this career pattern and incremental political opportunity structure have become more entrenched for women politicians with progressive ambitions (Tomasson, 1987).

Evidence which reflects this is found in the increasing numbers of women who have been nominated for a Congressional office and who have previously held state legislative office. All of the women (4) who were elected to first-term Congressional seats in the 1986 elections had earlier served as state legislators (Tomasson, 1987). Consequently, the case study of a single state legislature is a logical approach to understanding female representation and its relationship to the political opportunity structure.

I decided to look at a single state over-time for both practical and theoretical reasons. The data for a sixty-four year period is more easily accessible and more quickly compiled for a single state. As well, the Illinois General Assembly has undergone institutional and structural changes which will permit the examination of the impact of several unique variables upon female representation. Finally, few longitudinal case studies of female representation at the state level have been completed. It is hoped that this study might illuminate some of the institutional barriers to female elite participation and also highlight the necessary requisites for increased levels of female representation. Although the findings will be specific to the State of Illinois, these findings may suggest broader implications for the nation as a whole.

LITERATURE REVIEW - POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Within the area of political behavior research, the issue of women's political participation has historically received scant attention. Indeed, the existence of literature which addresses the influence of gender upon political behavior is a recent phenomenon.

During the first half of the 20th century, little systematic research regarding women's political role was conducted. Prior to World War II, the limited amount of literature on political behavior was characterized by an absence of research about women. Scholars generally assumed (based on low voting rates) that women were inherently apolitical (Baxter & Lansing, 1983). During the post-WWII period, few empirical studies were completed. These seminal works paralleled and reflected the rise of the behavioral-quantitative paradigm as the prevalent research model of the social sciences, as well as improved data collection and survey techniques. With this shift to empiricism, several researchers (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960; Milbrath, 1965; Verba & Nie, 1972) sought to determine the impact of gender upon political participation, specifically voting behavior.

Early behavioral work confirmed traditional notions, that is, women and men were distinctly different political animals and women participated significantly less than men. The image of women as apolitical permeates the bulk of the early research and literature of the discipline.

Since the era of the contemporary feminist movement, however, considerable research has been undertaken to explain the gender differences of political participation. Women are no longer viewed as "unable" to function in the political world. Although existing conclusions seem to indicate the relative similarity of males and females, the understanding of women's political participation remains incomplete and as it advances, becomes increasingly complex.

The study of political participation is regarded as the key to understanding the essence of a democratic political system. Within the United States, certain truisms regarding political participation have been accepted as tenets of the discipline. To begin with, political participation is viewed as an hierarchy of activities, in which each level becomes increasingly more difficult than the previous. Consequently, political participation is cumulative, in that the mastery of each successive activity builds on earlier activity to become more encompassing and more "activist" (Milbrath, 1965).

Milbrath identified three levels of activity within the participation hierarchy: spectator, transitional, and gladiatorial activities. The first level, and hence the least difficult in which to engage, spectator activity, consists of voting, wearing a political button or displaying a political bumper sticker. The transitional level is characterized by giving money to a political cause, contacting public officials and attending political meetings/events. These activities require more effort and time from the participant and as such are viewed as more difficult. Finally, gladiator

participation represents the highest and most difficult level of the political involvement hierarchy. Activities such as campaigning, working at party headquarters and serving as party leaders are gladiator activities. This level of involvement requires a significant amount of time and commitment. The ultimate gladiator activities are running for office and office holding.

Gender differences in political participation have been examined using this hierarchical model. Compared to men, women were less active as the level of participation advanced to more difficult activities. Moreover, women voted less often than men (Milbrath, 1965). This is significant because voting is the baseline activity of the participation hierarchy. Presumably, before similar levels of participation are realized at higher levels, equivalent levels of activism must be attained at the base of the hierarchy.

Verba and Nie (1972) conceptualized political participation as a consequence of socioeconomic status and influenced by "civic attitudes". The components of the SES model included income, education and employment. Based on 1967 survey research, Verba and Nie found that overall levels of participation were low and that the only activity in which most citizens engaged was voting in presidential elections. Indeed, voting was discovered to be the only political activity performed by more than one-third of the U.S. voting-eligible population. Higher levels of SES positively influenced political participation. Participants considered "activists" disproportionately came from the ranks of the

upper SES. With regard to gender differences, Verba and Nie discovered that women were overrepresented among the "inactives" and slightly underrepresented among the "complete activists" (Verba & Nie, 1972).

In 1977, when Milbrath and Goel reexamined political participation, they found that the political roles of the sexes continued to manifest the traditional sexual division of labor. Simply put, men were assigned political roles and women were still regarded as apolitical. Although the differential in voting rates of men and women appeared to be shrinking, men still voted more than women. Again, gender differences in voting, the easiest participatory act, were related to socioeconomic status. Specifically, gender differences in voting were widest among the lowest SES segment and lowest among the upper SES segment. Despite the persistence of women's lower levels of participation, changes in participatory activity had occurred. As a result of modernization, differences between the sexes as political beings had diminished. An erosion of gender-related participation differences was perceptible (Milbrath & Goel, 1977).

These observations were confirmed by Verba, Nie and Kim in their seven-nation comparative study of political participation. The model of participation presented the interaction of institutional and individual forces as determinant to political activity. The variables of this model included socioeconomic resource level, SERL, which was comprised of education and family income; institutional

affiliations, such as political parties and voluntary associations; and conversion rates, the ability to transform resources into activity. In their examination of gender differences in participation, Verba et al. determined that with the exception of the United States, the women of the nations studied were less politically active than the men. In the United States, however, a similarity in political participation between the sexes was observed. Conversion rates of resources were found to be roughly equivalent for both men and women; in fact, at higher levels of education, women's conversion rates were actually higher than men's. (Conversion rate is defined as the ability to turn tangible and intangible resources into political activity or political office.) Two qualifications must be made about this study: 1. mass political participation was analyzed and 2. the SERL index was necessarily altered for a male-female comparison. The income component was dropped because it was impossible to derive accurate individual figures from the "family income" reported (Verba, Nie & Kim, 1978). Nonetheless, the general finding that the political participation of men and women in the United States had equalized at the mass level confirms previously identified trends.

Explanations for gender differences in political behavior are necessarily rooted in historical legacy. The history of women's political participation in the United States must be reviewed to comprehend women's contemporary political behavior. In the United States, women were not afforded full citizenship until the early 20th century.

Throughout the early development of democracy in America, women had no political status and were denied full participation in self-government (Stucker,1977). Women's political role was defined by social, cultural, and religious values, and most significantly, legal doctrines which precluded participatory activity beyond the "private sphere". Early legal doctrine of the United States borrowed heavily from its British heritage. The original settlers replicated such British common law doctrines as "women as property" and "unity in marriage". The "unity in marriage" doctrine maintained that woman's legal identity merged with her husband's upon marriage. Consequently, married women had no legal rights, not even the right to vote (Klein,1973; Marshall,1984).

In addition to these common law concepts, the ideology of "separate spheres" contributed to the sustained legitimacy of the disenfranchisement of women. The basis of the "separate spheres" originated from the perceptions of women's "proper place". Traditionally, men claimed sole authority to participate in the public domain of politics. Women were not permitted entrance to this public arena; such public behavior was considered an aberration and a violation of women's "natural role". Women, as nurturing mothers and keepers of the family, were restricted to the "private sphere" - the domestic sphere (Marshall,1984).

The ideology of "separate spheres" was buttressed by the firmly entrenched "cult of true womanhood", which espoused the feminine virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness, and

domesticity. According to this concept, women reigned supreme in domestic, familial affairs, but in the public realm were rendered subordinate to men. Presumptively, a woman's biological capacity for motherhood dictated her ascribed status within the political system (Marshall,1984).

As democratic self-government evolved in America, the right to vote was slowly extended to the previously disenfranchised. However, the women of America waited for many years before they became legal participants in the national electorate. Initially, women's right to vote was limited to "school suffrage". Kentucky was the first state to extend school suffrage to women. Beginning in 1838, "widows with children of school age" were allowed to vote in Kentucky school elections (Stucker,1977:266). For almost 25 years, Kentucky was the only state to grant women school suffrage. Although school suffrage conveyed a new legal status to some women, it was not a validation of women's political role. Rather it was an extension of women's "appropriate role" -the caretaker of the children. Only widows with school-aged children could vote. The implicit assumption was that married women did not need to vote because their husbands would vote for them (Stucker,1977).

The extension of school suffrage to women was a lengthy process. In 1861, Kansas became the second state to allow this limited form of suffrage. Over the next fifty years, almost two dozen states granted school suffrage to women. The extension of school suffrage, as full suffrage would later be, was a national phenomenon. Eventually every region of the

United States adopted school suffrage for women (Stucker, 1977).

Women's response to limited enfranchisement was to refrain from voting. Women did not exercise the newly acquired political power of the vote. This behavior would later be used by anti-suffragettes to argue against the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women universal suffrage (Stucker, 1977).

The struggle for women's suffrage was an arduous and divisive battle. Wyoming was the first state to adopt the principle of universal suffrage. Upon admission to the statehood in 1890, the constitution of Wyoming specified equal suffrage to all adults. This meant that for the first time in the history of the United States, some women would be granted the right to vote in all elections. Within the next six years, three more states - Colorado (1893), Utah (1896), and Idaho (1897) - granted full suffrage to women. Almost twenty years lapsed before another state recognized the legal right of women to vote. Not until after 1910, which marked the beginning of the Progressive era, would more women be granted the political rights of full citizenship (Stucker, 1977). A list of the twenty-seven states which granted full or limited suffrage to women during the decade prior to the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment is presented in Table 1.

Table. 1 Extension of Women's Suffrage

<u>Prior to the Adoption of the 19th Amendment</u>	
1890	Wyoming
1893	Colorado
1896	Utah
1897	Idaho
1911	California, Washington
1913	Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Illinois*
1915	Montana, Nevada
1917	New York, Nebraska*, North Dakota*, Rhode Island*
1918	Michigan, Oklahoma, South Dakota
1919	Indiana*, Iowa*, Minnesota*, Missouri*, Ohio*
	Tennessee*, Wisconsin*
1920	Kentucky*

Source: Stucker, 1977: 269.

*Suffrage limited to presidential electors only.

The 19th Amendment to the Constitution was proposed in Congress in 1919. After a quick ratification process, full suffrage for women was guaranteed by constitutional amendment in 1920. The passage of the 19th Amendment generated considerable discussion and predictions about the ramifications of women's suffrage. An expectation that women's votes would transform society prevailed during this early period. Some anticipated that a new era of social welfare legislation would commence. However, once women acquired the right to vote, relatively few women exercised it (Baxter & Lansing, 1983).

One of the earliest quantitative studies was the work of Rice and Willey (1924), which sought to determine whether the proportion of eligible women residing in the northern and western states who voted in the 1920 presidential election, the first election following the enactment of the 19th Amendment, approached the proportion of men who voted. It was anticipated that women in the western and northern states would vote roughly in the same proportions as men (Stucker, 1977).

Rice and Willey discovered that approximately 34.7% of eligible women voted. Not only was this less than half of the eligible women voters, but it was significantly less than men. The simple act of enfranchisement was not determinant to women voting. The slow response of women was actually predictable. Although women had been legally enfranchised, strong social norms still discouraged their exercising it.

Voting is generally regarded as a learned behavior, that is, a habit acquired over time. Compared to men, women certainly had had less time to learn the habit of voting (Baxter & Lansing, 1983; Stucker, 1977).

This gender differential in voter turnout persisted within American politics throughout the first half of the 20th century. Gradually, however, the participation of women increased and the discrepancy in voter turnout narrowed. In the classic work, The American Voter (1960), Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes documented a 10 percentage point differential between male and female voter turnout rates. Using data from the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections, Campbell et al. identified a pattern of higher voter turnout among males than females. This appeared to reinforce traditional thinking - women participate less than men. The authors cautioned that aggregate voter turnout rates hid subgroup variations. With regard to gender differences, young college-educated women outside the South were actually more likely to vote than their male cohorts (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960:486-488). Although the relationship between turnout and sex clearly was not a linear one, scholars generally accepted the conventional wisdom that overall, women were less participatory (as measured only by voting) than men.

Since 1952, gender differences in turnout have been declining. During the last eight presidential elections the voting rates of women and men have become progressively similar. In part, this convergence of voting rates is

accounted for by the lower voting rate of the American electorate as a whole (Baxter & Lansing, 1983). Nonetheless, gender differences in turnout rates have virtually disappeared (Bolce, 1985).

In addition to turnout rates, women's vote for a given candidate was similar to men's throughout the last forty years. Sex had not been a determining factor. Men and women did not differ significantly in their preferences for political parties until the 1980 election. The only exceptions to this were the 1956 and 1972 presidential elections. In 1956, more women than men supported Eisenhower over Stevenson and in 1972, slightly more women than men favored McGovern. In both instances, the differences were under ten percentage points. These discrepancies between male and female voters were viewed as transient and therefore, insignificant (Goertzel, 1983; Bolce, 1985; Baxter & Lansing, 1983).

The 1980 presidential election was a milestone for women. For the first time, women's vote was a distinct recognizable force in electoral politics. Women supported different candidates than men in larger proportions than ever before. These differences were termed the "gender gap". Traditional thinking was shaken by the emergence of this "gender gap". In the 1980 presidential election, gender appeared to explain more than traditional determinants of voting behavior (Baxter & Lansing, 1983).

Commentators disagree about the implications of the emergence of the "gender gap". Goertzel suggests that the

presence of the gender gap is more likely an enduring political factor. He attributes the "gender gap" of the 1980 presidential election to two reasons: women of all economic groups are less militaristic than men and women in lower-income groups were strongly anti-Reagan, whereas men of the same category were more likely pro-Reagan. Based on these trends, Goertzel concluded that since fundamental issues, such as the economy, and military and social spending, were determinant of the vote, male and female voters are different "political animals". Consequently, in the future, distinctive patterns of women's vote would be a critical factor in presidential elections (Goertzel, 1983).

Based on SRC survey data, Goertzel argues that the reality of the "gender gap" is even more convincing if one looks at family income groups. Among the lowest one-third of family income groups (under \$17,000 in 1980), 57% of the women voted for Carter, while 57% of the men voted for Reagan. Small statistically insignificant differences existed among the middle and upper-income brackets. Clearly, gender was a significant determinant of candidate choice among the lower income groups. These findings suggest that both gender and class are important variables which impact upon voting behavior (Goertzel, 1983).

Research conducted by Bolce (1985) offers a similar, but different conclusion. Again, subgroup variations are important. Using data from the 1976 and 1980 ICPSR National Election Surveys and the 1984 ABC News exit poll, Bolce found that, when analysis was controlled for race, Reagan's "women

problem" was only a problem among non-white women. A majority of white women did support Reagan in 1980. In this election, white women were seventeen times more likely than black women to vote Republican, whereas white women were only seven percentage points less likely than white men to vote Republican. The racial gap within the gender gap was crucial (Bolce, 1985).

The racial difference among women's vote was consistent throughout every region in the United States, except the West. White women gave the majority of their votes to Reagan; approximately 55% of white women in the Northeast, 50.4% of white women in the Midwest and nearly 60% of the white women in the South favored Reagan. Women in the West did not give greater support to Carter but rather to third party candidates (Bolce, 1985).

Bolce maintains that the gender gap is real and significant, but contends that it has been misinterpreted. He argues that, in the 1980 election, the "reverse gender gap" was more important than the "gender gap". The women's vote was less critical than the shift of white males to the Republican party. According to Bolce's findings, males were 6 percentage points more likely to vote a Republican ticket in 1980 than in 1976 and fifteen percentage points less likely to vote Democratic. In 1980, six out of ten white males voted for Reagan - twice the number who voted for Carter. The "reverse gender gap" was also a regionally-based phenomenon, except in the South, where both white men and women gave Reagan 26% more votes than Carter (Bolce, 1985).

Upon examination of the 1980 CPS data regarding issue stances, gender differences prevailed. White men were significantly more likely than white women to favor more conservative policies on both foreign and domestic issues. For example, a majority of white men favored substantially increasing defense spending, whereas women wanted to maintain the current level. On the issues of government assistance, white males were twenty-five percent more likely than women to favor a reduction in social spending. From this, Bolce concludes that the gender gap is a manifestation of policy preferences (Bolce, 1985).

In the 1984 presidential election, the reverse gender gap was reinforced. Although Reagan won 7% more votes from women in 1984 than in 1980, he fared considerably better among males. In fact, 62% of males, which was 8 percentage points more than females, voted for Reagan as determined by the 1984 ABC News exit poll. Blacks, both male and female, voted overwhelmingly for Mondale. Again, the gender gap was also a racial gap (Bolce, 1985).

Results of the 1980 and 1984 presidential elections suggest that gender is, indeed, an important determinant of voting behavior. However, the relationship is not simple nor straightforward. It is not prudent to look at gender as the sole critical factor. Research indicates that women are not a homogeneous group. Consequently, the activity of subgroups must be examined to ascertain variations. In addition to gender, race and class both appear to be powerful predictors of voting behavior. These observations conform to voting

models previously developed.

Additionally, over the last twenty-five years, major changes have altered marital and family structures. Women have greater access to education and have become a stable and sizeable part of the work force. These changes must be given consideration when attempting to predict voting behavior. Traditional values and institutional prejudice regarding women's role in society have softened. Women are more politicized and will become more so in the future.

Research to date suggests that the traditional understanding of the political roles of men and women is no longer valid and hence, must be revised. Additional research must be conducted to understand the subtle, yet complex relationship between gender and political behavior.

Despite the increasing similarities of the sexes as political participants, women continue to lag behind men in other areas of political activity. On one hand, women are more politically active than earlier assumed, and yet, women are not as active as men. Numerous explanation for women's low level of participation have been set forth. Three explanatory themes emerge from the contemporary literature: the political socialization argument, the situational explanation and the structural explanation (Welch, 1977). The specifics of each thesis may vary slightly, but the fundamental premise remains unchanged. Women have not yet achieved overall participation rates equal to men's, but women are NOT inherently apolitical.

The political socialization argument is based on the

tenets of women's "appropriate roles". This theory explains women's low levels of participation as a consequence of the socialization process which discourages women from an active political ("public") role. Accordingly, early childhood learning, direct and indirect, teaches girls that politics is "a man's world" and encourages women's passivity; as adults, then, women are less politically active than men (Campbell et al., 1960 ; Hess & Torney, 1967; Greenstein, 1965; Orum, 1974 ; and Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, 1972). Recent studies have provided less support for the childhood socialization theory (Welch, 1977).

The situational explanation is also founded on the definition of women's traditional role, specifically the role of mother. The argument is that family responsibilities keep women at home within the private sphere. These domestic responsibilities create situational barriers to women's full political participation. Although this explanation , at one time, accounted for many constraints on women's participation, it is not as relevant today. Sixty-two percent of American mothers with children under eighteen years old now work outside the home (Churchman, 1987). The majority of American women regularly take part in the "public realm" and likely experience increased exposure to political discussions and more opportunities to be "political" (Pateman, 1970).

The third broad theme of contemporary research, that is, the structural explanation, maintains that the low level of female participation is attributable to the overrepresentation of women in demographic groups with

traditionally low participation levels. This thesis has received support from recent analyses and persists as a characteristic of women's political participation. Again, however, structural changes have occurred as other institutional barriers, such as access to higher education and professional occupations, have eroded.

The last decade has been an era of rigorous research on the questions of women's political participation. Previous theories have been refined and expanded. As women are written into the discipline, a more informed understanding of political woman has evolved and subsequently new questions have been asked.

In her study (1975) which examined male-female participation differences in eight campaign activities, Andersen concluded that adult socialization significantly impacted upon women's political activity. Based on 1952 - 1972 SRC Election Studies, her findings reaffirmed that overall women participated less than men, even though women's participation had increased more than men's over this period. It is important to emphasize, however, that a specific group of women HAD participated at a rate SIMILAR to men and indeed, SURPASSED their male counterparts in 1972. The political activity of WORKING WOMEN was comparable to male participation. This finding suggests that adult socialization, especially the employment experience, increases female political participation (Andersen, 1975). Another study of the SRC Election Studies of 1952, 1964, and 1972 reached a similar finding, but a slightly different

conclusion. In her analysis of male-female differences in political participation, Welch (1977) suggested that previous explanations were not sufficient and that discrimination against women should be investigated as its own explanation. Welch argued that the traditional political socialization theory of women's lower participation was no longer satisfactory, especially since the impact of the women's movement. As well, Welch observed that the effects of marriage and children upon political participation appeared practically the same for both women and men. Consequently, the "women as mothers" explanation seemed diluted.

The findings of this study pointed to the interaction of situational and structural barriers as an explanation for women's lower political participation. Factors associated with work force participation and demographic groupings, in part, accounted for participatory differences. Welch demonstrated that women are less likely than men to be among groups of people who tend to be politically active: the employed and the highly educated. The results of this study reiterated the importance of employment to political activity, particularly among the less educated. At higher levels of education (H.S. and college), employment did not considerably increase women's political participation relative to men's. Welch concluded that these findings were incomplete and posited discrimination against women as an explanation worthy of consideration (Welch, 1977).

Women's status in American society has been a source of controversy and conflicting definitions of women's "appropriate" roles. Women's economic role has long been the focus of the battle for equality. In an attempt to clarify the significance of employment to women's political activity, Andersen and Cook (1985) conducted a quasi-experimental analysis of the 1972-1976 Michigan National Election Study. The researchers compared the political activity of employed women, housewives, and women who first entered the labor force between 1972 and 1976 to test the rival theories of sex-role socialization and self-selection. Both working women and housewives were designated as control groups, while "new entrants" were identified as the experimental group, with the "treatment" being entry into the work force. The findings relevant to political participation did not confirm either the socialization or the self-selection hypothesis.

Entry into the work force did not significantly affect political involvement. Over the four-year period analyzed, new entrants were quite similar to housewives and participated considerably less than working women. During this same period, all groups of women exhibited a decrease in campaign activity, but this decline was less dramatic for working women. One measure of political involvement, the frequency with which one attempted to persuade others, increased for working women, remained stable for new entrants, and declined for housewives. With regard to political efficacy, only working women experienced a

significant increase (Andersen & Cook, 1985).

Andersen and Cook maintained that the results of the study were inconclusive. As a "treatment", entry into the work force appeared not to impact upon political participation. The authors concluded that entry into the work force is a "process", and therefore any resocialization which might occur would be the result of long-term changes. Consequently, the relationship between work and women's political participation should not be dismissed. Rather it needs to be examined more completely and more specifically, taking into account such variables as type of job, number of years of full-time employment, length of continuous employment, etc (Andersen and Cook, 1985).

Yet another study which sought to develop a model of female political participation examined women in campaign activities. The work of Reece, Beatty, and Dukes (1983) determined that the political activity of women is encouraged by the same factors which contribute to men's political activity. Age, education and party identification were identified as critical determinants of women's campaign activism (not unlike men). The only variable of the eighteen variables analyzed which differentiated women from men was the role model of mothers. Indeed, the role model of mothers was established as the strongest statistically significant predictor of women's campaign activism. Women with mothers who were employed during their childhood were more likely to be campaign activists. This relationship was notably evident for women whose mothers were employed in "professional"

occupations. Fowlkes (1984) maintains that countersocialization, or "...the acquisition of values and/or role expectations which run counter to the dominant societal norms" accounts for the higher ambitions of political women (Fowlkes, 1984:7). These women have been influenced by politically interested mothers. Hence, "countersocialization of women involves a convergence of non-traditional gender role socialization with political socialization" (Fowlkes, 1984:8). Once again, the socialization explanation was proposed as imperative to understanding gender-related differences in political activity (Fowlkes, 1984; Reece, Beatty, & Dukes; 1983).

It becomes apparent that the issue of women's political participation has gained the attention of the researchers and yet, no definitive conclusions have been reached. The political behavior of women is a complex phenomenon which requires a multi-faceted analysis. In an exhaustive study of women and politics, Baxter and Lansing stressed that women cannot be viewed as monolithic. Subgroup variations among women must be studied to fully understand female political participation (Baxter & Lansing, 1983). Finally, it is necessary to recognize the distinction between elite participation and citizen participation. Women have slowly entered the ranks of the political elite. The issue of elite participation by women has also generated a substantial amount of academic literature. In the following chapter I will review selected literature on elite participation and recruitment, an integral aspect of elite participation.

LITERATURE REVIEW - ELITE PARTICIPATION

The concept of a "ruling elite" would seem to some to be antithetical to democratic values. However, the recruitment of the political elite within an open democratic system is the process "which legitimizes the claims of a few to public office" (Prewitt, 1970:11). The identification of candidates for potential leadership positions is the culmination of a structured, interactive process. The recruitment process has been likened to a Chinese box puzzle, in which progressively smaller boxes are found within larger boxes. Prewitt has labelled the "boxes" of the recruitment process as follows (largest to smallest): the population, the dominant social stratum, the politically active stratum, the recruits and apprentices, the candidates and the governors (Prewitt, 1970:8).

In reality, then, the selection of political leaders is not a "representative" process (Keefe & Ogul, 1985). The recruitment process in many respects is a manifestation of the values and norms of the dominant social stratum. Consequently, this process favors persons with upper SES backgrounds. At the beginning of the process, these persons constitute the "pool of eligibles". Not all "eligibles" become members of the politically active stratum. Prewitt indicated that the experiences of political socialization and political mobilization propel individuals into the politically active stratum (Prewitt, 1970:77). At this point of the recruitment process, existing political arrangements,

both formal and informal, become the critical factors for determining who is recruited from the politically active. Again, those persons who command the resources select and sponsor candidates which mirror their values and expectations (Prewitt, 1970).

The process of political recruitment has also been described as the interaction of political opportunity, selection, risk and decision-making (Seligman, 1971:20). Seligman identified three variations of the political opportunity structure: the formal or legal (who "may" run), the effective (who "can" run) and motivational patterns (who "will" run) (Seligman, 1971:20). From this perspective, it is the effective political opportunity which translates into eligibility. Within this model of elite recruitment, social status, family background, education, resources, political socialization and motivation, as well as "generational expectations of leadership" were designated as determinants of effective political opportunity (Seligman, 1971:5-9). In a later work, Seligman proposed that the recruitment process is a three-stage procedure, consisting of certification, or the identification of those individuals with the appropriate social and political credentials; selection, during which time sponsors choose potential candidates, and role assignment, the election to a specific political role (Seligman, 1974).

A final consideration which must be addressed to fully comprehend the recruitment process is the influence of political ambition. As Joseph Schlesinger so aptly stated,

"Ambition lies at the heart of politics"(Schlesinger, 1966:1)

The existence of a clearly defined recruitment process means nothing unless individuals have political ambitions and seek political office. Politicians' behaviors can be understood and interpreted as responses to office goals. As well, ambitions are determined by the political opportunities. Schlesinger outlined three types of political ambition: discrete - the desire to hold an office for a specific term and then withdraw from office, static - the desire for a lengthy career within a specific office and progressive - the desire for higher office (Schlesinger, 1966).

Generally, women have been regarded as less politically ambitious than men. A recent study of gender-differences in political ambition among elites contradicts this widely-held belief. Based in part on a 1981 CAWP survey of men and women holding elective office at the state legislative, county, mayoral and local levels, Carroll (1985) has discovered that women are as ambitious as men to hold public office. In fact, at the state legislature level, women were found to be somewhat more inclined than their male counterparts to aspire to both another state term and another higher office (Carroll, 1985).

The recruitment of the political elite is clearly not a one-dimensional process. Multiple variables interact to produce a complex phenomenon, that is, the selection of a country's political leaders. Patterns and trends have been recognized and established throughout the literature of the discipline. However, most of the literature prior to the

feminist movement was based on observations of a male-dominated political system. Even though women have gained limited access to elite participation, women still occupy only a minority of political leadership positions. What characteristics of the recruitment process have contributed to women's "limited access" ?

Studies of elite participation have noted that the differences between men and women elites have been lessening (Jennings & Farah, 1981; Powell, Brown, & Hedges, 1981; Gertzog, 1984). The social backgrounds, education and political careers of political men and women have become more similar. Some scholars suggest that this career convergence provides indirect support for the impact of the feminist movement and its concomitant social changes (Jennings & Farah, 1981).

In his longitudinal analysis of women elected to the U.S. House of Representatives between 1917 and 1982, Gertzog(1984) found that changes in career patterns AND recruitment patterns were discernible. During the pre-WW II period, family connections and wealth were essential resources for a woman seeking Congressional office. Most of the women who entered the House during this time did so as a result of the "matrimonial or widow's connection". Upon the death of a spouse, the party generally looked to the widow as the replacement. This phenomenon has declined since the mid-1940's. The widow's mandate is no longer the primary avenue of recruitment of women to political office. Following World War Two, the change began. Women were entering the House

with legal training and prior political experience. Since the 1960's, women elected to the House are younger than their female forerunners, possess higher levels of education and political experience and are less restricted by marital and family responsibilities. From these observations, Gertzog concluded that a change in the "pool of eligibles" has occurred. Women have access to social, political, economic, and educational resources previously unattainable. As a result, the recruitment process has necessarily been transformed and a more inclusive opportunity structure exists for women (Gertzog, 1984).

Gertzog's conclusions about the changing recruitment and career patterns of political women were confirmed by the research of Joan Hulse Thompson. Thompson (1985) also found that over time women elected to the U.S. House of Representatives displayed similar levels of "achieved" resources as their male counterparts. Moreover, larger numbers of women are among the "pool of eligibles". Since the early 1970's, the number of women lawyers in Congressional office has increased sharply. The lawyer-to-politician career pattern has become a reality among elite political women. A career convergence has occurred and now the most salient criterion for recruitment - educational and occupational resources - are comparable for men and women (Thompson, 1985).

The literature which specifically addresses the relationship between elite recruitment and female representation has isolated several critical variables. The

early work of Jeane Kirkpatrick is recognized as a breakthrough for the scholarship of women as political beings. After extensive research of those women serving as state legislators in 1972, Kirkpatrick observed that the profile of the female state legislator portrayed a woman in her mid-to-late 40's, with two children; she was college-educated, but generally did not work outside the home. She lived in a small community and was financially supported by her husband, and for many years she had been actively involved in the community and the local party organization as a volunteer. As well, these women possessed upper SES backgrounds and exhibited upward mobility (Kirkpatrick, 1974).

From this ground-breaking research of female state legislators, it was also demonstrated that these women not only engaged in voluntary group associations extensively, they also held leadership positions within the groups (Kirkpatrick, 1974). Over 40% of these women reported active membership in the League of Women Voters, the post-suffrage version of the National Women's Suffrage Association (Kirkpatrick, 1974). League membership had played a determinant role in the political careers of several of these women (Kirkpatrick, 1974:44).

As compared to men, women serving as state legislators in 1972 were older, less educated and had a markedly less-developed occupational background/professional career. Social

backgrounds however were similar. Kirkpatrick concluded that, at the time, the most important constraint on women's political participation was cultural norms. Traditional sex-roles still defined women's appropriate political role (Kirkpatrick, 1974: 219-221).

In one of the first comprehensive studies to examine structural barriers to female representation in state legislatures, Diamond found that, among New England legislators, women were most likely to be elected within states where the recruitment process was not very selective and the competition for legislative seats was low. The legislators of such states tended to be lower paid and the legislature itself was regarded as "less professional". Consequently, the office was viewed as "less desirable" by men (Diamond, 1977).

Diamond also observed that some evidence existed which pointed to a convergence of career patterns between men and women in those states with competitive recruitment processes and higher levels of seat competition (Diamond, 1977).

Another factor linked to women's successful election to state legislative office is prior political party leadership (Dubeck, 1976). Based on biographical data generated from a random sample of eighteen states' legislators, Dubeck discovered that prior party leadership was a vital resource for women's elite recruitment. Previous party leadership was especially important for women whose educational levels were less than college education. Although women were older than men and had less tenure in office, these women more often

had backgrounds of extensive party work and leadership (Dubeck, 1976).

Van Hightower confirmed and elaborated upon the determinant role of the political party in women's recruitment for public office. Interviews with female candidates for statewide and national office in 1972 from New York City and suburban counties of Long Island indicated that the party was a major institutional variable in the recruitment process of women. Fifty-four percent of the women had been recruited by the party. Many of these candidates had competed in "throwaway" races, in which seats had already been lost to the other party. Of the seven winners self-recruited, all but one of these women were Democrats. Moreover, these Democratic candidates tended to identify with the minority faction of the party. Seventy percent of the women interviewed had experienced "political mobilization" experiences. Most of these experiences resulted from volunteer community service and volunteer political work. One-fourth of these women however reported that they had become politically active because of involvement in one of the mass movements of the late 1960's and early 1970's, for example, civil rights, peace and women's rights (Van Hightower, 1977).

Additional research which appears to support the structural explanation of women's lower levels of representation was set forth by Welch in 1978. Based on a study of the twelve state legislatures in the SRC central region, women were less represented among "professionalized"

(as determined only by salary) legislatures. Welch concluded that because professionalized legislatures were more selective with regard to educational and occupational backgrounds, women were underrepresented among the "pool of eligibles" in the recruitment process. Even though women had gained entry into preferred professions, they remained severely disadvantaged. For the women who had been elected to lower state houses, group membership was the most powerful predictor of office-holding (Welch, 1978).

The importance of women's organizational activity to ultimate office-holding is pervasive throughout the literature. Merritt (1977) suggests that in fact, women's "civic volunteerism is the functional analogue to male occupational success" (Merritt, 1977:731). In an examination of winners and losers of 1972 nonpartisan suburban municipal elections in Cook County, Illinois, Merritt discovered that women were recruited based on the "proven demonstration" of skills in community and political volunteer activities; whereas men's success appeared to be dependent on educational and occupational status, as well as social contacts with political "influentials" (Merritt, 1977).

Within recent years, the type of organizational resources available to women has become increasingly significant. Because women have traditionally had limited access to party resources, the resources of feminist organizations have emerged as invaluable alternative resources (Volgy, Schwarz, and Gottlieb, 1986). In states with high levels of NOW membership among the population, more

women are elected to the state legislatures. Conversely, in states where fundamentalist organizations are predominant, the number of women legislators is considerably below the national average (Volgy et al., 1986).

The research of Donald Matthews has also identified the shift toward a professionalized, full-time legislature throughout the United States. Matthews (1984) stated that structural aspects of the political system prevent higher levels of female representation in state legislatures. He suggests that weak political parties and single-member districts constrain women's election to state legislative office (Matthews, 1984).

The work of Darcy, Welch and Clark (1985) is consistent with Matthew's conclusions regarding the impact of the electoral system upon women's electability. Based on an analysis of those states with both single and multi-member district, as well as states which changed their electoral districts, the researchers discovered that multi-member districts advantaged women. Fewer women ran or were elected in single-member districts than in multi-member districts (Darcy, Welch & Clark, 1985). On the other hand, multi-member districts disadvantaged geographically concentrated ethnic minorities (Darcy et al., 1985). Consequently, it appears that electoral structures which favor one disadvantaged group may discriminate against another.

Another factor which has been identified as a significant barrier to women's political representation is Democratic party dominance (Rule, 1981). In states where the

Democrats have controlled the majority of legislative seats, fewer women have been elected, i.e. the South. Republican party dominance has historically advantaged women and has resulted in higher levels of female representation (Rule, 1981).

According to a recent study, however, this explanation appears to be less valid. Nechemias (1987) has found that since the early 1980's women legislators' party affiliations mirror those of the nation as a whole. Women legislators are no longer a distinctly Republican group. Apparently, more opportunities are now available for women in the Democratic party (Nechemias, 1987).

The work of Nechemias has also challenged other previously accepted explanations of low levels of female representation. Nechemias suggests that although the professionalization of legislatures may explain state-to-state variance, it does not explain lower female representation on a national scale (Nechemias, 1987). Also, according to this study, the historical tradition of a state, that is, the percentage of women who have held legislative seats, has lost its predictive importance. Nechemias concludes that in the 1980's the impact of political subculture is more important as a determinant of women's political representation. In those states which manifest a traditionalistic subculture, fewer women are elected (Nechemias, 1987). These findings confirm the earlier work of Hill, which argued that cultural factors rather than structural factors, such as salary and length of session,

accounted for lower female representation (Hill, 1981).

In conclusion, the literature on women's representation in state legislatures has grown prolifically. Significant progress has been achieved and yet accurate predictors of women's representation remain elusive. To date, the findings have been inconclusive and at times, inconsistent. Further research is imperative to understanding this phenomenon.

ILLINOIS AS A CASE STUDY

The history of women's political participation in Illinois parallels the activities of the suffrage movement. Throughout much of the 19th century, Illinois women were afforded few political rights. Opposition to women's political equality was strong and embraced the traditional notions of women's appropriate roles.

The first limited extension of suffrage to Illinois women occurred in 1891 with the passage of the Woman's Suffrage Act of 1891 (Kear, 1963). This legislation granted women the right to vote in school elections only. During school elections, women were required to use separate ballots deposited in separate ballot boxes. If school elections coincided with the election of other public officials, women's ballots only displayed the names of candidates seeking school office (Kear, 1963).

The battle for full suffrage in Illinois was lengthy and well-organized. For many years, suffrage bills were unsuccessfully introduced in the Illinois General Assembly. Finally, in the late spring of 1913, a suffrage bill was passed by both the House and the Senate (Kears, 1963). Illinois was the first state east of the Mississippi River to grant women the right to vote. The 1913 Illinois suffrage laws gave women the right to vote for all officers not created by the state constitution and on all propositions. Although women could participate in presidential and

municipal elections, Illinois women could not vote for state and county officials ! For women to be allowed to vote for these officials, a state constitutional amendment would have been necessary (Kears, 1963).

The Illinois women's suffrage law was not passed without controversy. The constitutionality of the law was challenged by the United Societies, an organization which represented the liquor industry (Kears, 1963). After a long and heated legal battle, the Illinois Supreme Court found the law constitutional in 1914. At the 1915 session of the General Assembly, a bill to repeal the suffrage law was put before the Senate and subsequently defeated. Again, in 1916, the liquor industry attempted to overturn the constitutionality of the law. At the end of 1917, the Illinois Supreme Court reaffirmed its initial decision. The law was held constitutional (Kears, 1963). With the ratification of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1920, all women were granted full suffrage.

The Illinois General Assembly presents an interesting case study in state legislative politics. The structure and composition of the General Assembly have been altered by constitutional revision. Such changes permit the examination of the influence of structural variables upon female representation. Additionally, as part of the structural changes, electoral mechanisms were modified. Consequently, the influence of electoral systems upon representation can also be scrutinized.

The Illinois General Assembly is a bicameral legislature. The regular session begins in January and lasts through June. As well, a Fall session, which lasts about one month, although not constitutionally mandated has become the norm (Gove, Carlson & Carlson, 1976). Until 1972, the General Assembly was not required by the Constitution to meet annually (Gove et al., 1976). Prior to this time, the legislature held biennial six-month sessions which commenced during every odd-numbered year. In keeping with a well-established American political tradition, being a state legislator was considered a part-time occupation (Steiner & Gove, 1960). In Illinois, the shift toward a full-time legislature did not emerge until the late 1960's and early 1970's (Gove et al., 1976). Only within the last two decades has the Illinois legislative cycle required more than a periodic commitment.

Currently, the General Assembly is comprised of a 59-member Senate and a 118-member House of Representatives. Since 1982, there exist 59 single-member Legislative (Senatorial) districts and 118 single-member Representative districts. This arrangement was a consequence of the 1980 Cutback Amendment which abolished multi-member districts and eliminated cumulative voting. In 1980, Illinois voters decided to reduce the size of the House by one-third, decreasing the number of Representatives from 177 to 118. This action marked the first constitutional reduction of the General Assembly since 1848. (Handbook of Illinois

Government, 1987; Fremon, 1986). The Cutback Amendment mandated the creation of 118 single-member Representative districts. As a consequence of reapportionment and the mandated redistricting of the Cutback Amendment, districts were actually redrawn. (Fremon, 1986).

Before the Cutback Amendment, the 177 House members were elected from multi-member districts using a cumulative voting system. The 1870 Constitution established 59 Representative districts with three representatives elected from each. Also, at the time, Illinois adopted the cumulative voting procedure (1970 Illinois Constitution Annotated).

The system of cumulative voting permits the discretionary distribution of votes between the candidates. A voter can choose to distribute the votes equally among the three candidates, divide the votes between two of the candidates, or cast all three votes for one candidate. Giving all three votes to a single candidate is referred to as the "bullet vote" or "plumping the vote" (Kenney, 1977; Gove et al., 1976). Only Illinois has used this unique electoral system over the last 100 years (Kenney, 1977).

Cumulative voting was originally designed as an electoral mechanism to mollify the divisiveness of the North-South split in Illinois after the Civil War. Cumulative voting is thought to advantage the "minority" party in a given electoral race by allowing the "bullet vote". When adopted in 1870, cumulative voting was intended to elect Democrats from the Republican North and Republicans from the Democratic South (Kenney, 1976).

On another occasion, in 1956, the size of the Illinois House experienced a change in composition. At this time, as a result of redistricting, the House increased from 153 to 177 members (Illinois Blue Book). Also, in the 1964 general election, the Illinois House encountered an unprecedented situation. Because of a failure to agree upon redistricting, all 236 House candidates were required to run on a single "bedsheet ballot", which meant that ALL candidates competed in an "at large" state election (Illinois House of Representatives, 1986).

Over the course of the history of the Illinois General Assembly, the composition of the Senate has also been altered although not as radically as the House. In 1956, as a result of redistricting the membership of the Senate increased from 51 to 58. The 1970 Constitution increased the number of Senators from 58 to 59, effective 1972. One Senator is elected from each of the 59 Legislative districts, which at the time were identical to the Representative districts (Gove et al., 1976).

RESEARCH DESIGN AND HYPOTHESES

This study of female representation in the Illinois General Assembly examines 33 general assemblies, beginning with the 53rd General Assembly - election year, 1922 - at which time the first woman was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives.

Trend lines are used to describe changes in female representation over the 64-year period. The effect of changes in the electoral system and the institutional structure are examined. Social and demographic characteristics of women legislators in Illinois are discussed. This data is then compared to data on legislators elected to the 83rd General Assembly.

Biographical data was collected on all women elected to either the Illinois House or Senate during the period of 1922 through 1986. Sources used for data collection included the Illinois Blue Book, the Handbook of Illinois Government, Illinois Issues, research memorandum of the Illinois Legislative Council, Who's Who in American Politics, and Who's Who of American Women.

Data collected included the names of women elected, the house to which elected, political party affiliation, the year first elected, the number of legislative sessions served, age when first elected, district from which elected, marital status when elected, education, occupation, race, religion, organizational memberships, membership in political associations and party organizations, membership in the

League of Women Voters, prior appointed office and prior elected office. Additionally, institutional and structural changes were treated as independent variables. Appendix 5 details how these independent variables have been operationalized and coded.

Based upon the literature, I have formulated the following propositions which will be examined in some detail:

1. During early periods, more Republican women than Democratic women will have been elected (Rule, 1981). The ratio of Republican to Democratic women should, however, become more balanced over-time (Nechemias, 1987).

2. The 1964 "bedsheet ballot" election, which was characterized by greater party control, will have resulted in an increase in the number of women elected (Rule, 1981).

3. With the elimination of the cumulative voting system and the abandonment of multi-member districts, the number of women elected will be reduced (Darcy, Welch & Clark, 1985; Matthews, 1984). As a result of the 1980 constitutional reduction of the House of Representatives from 177 members to 118 members, the proportion of women elected to the House will concomitantly decrease (Diamond, 1977).

4. More women will have been elected from urban and suburban areas than rural areas (Verba & Nie, 1972).

5. Over-time, the career patterns of women elected to office will reflect similar levels of "achieved resources" as compared to their male counterparts (Thompson, 1985; Gertzog, 1984).

FINDINGS

An analysis of the data revealed that over the 64- year period covered in this study only 83 women have been elected to the Illinois General Assembly. Table 2 presents the figures of the actual number of women elected.

Between 1922 and 1986, ten (10) women have served in the Illinois Senate; sixty-two (62) have served in the Illinois House of Representatives and eleven (11) women have held office in both chambers. Thus, overall, women have occupied 21 seats in the Senate and 73 seats in the House of Representatives.

The first woman elected to the Illinois General Assembly was Lottie Holman O'Neill. Since O'Neill's election in 1922, women have been elected to every legislative session of the Illinois General Assembly. A Republican, O'Neill was first elected to the House of Representatives. She went on to serve 19 sessions: 13 in the House and 6 in the Senate. To date, Lottie Holman O'Neill has the longest tenure of any woman elected to the General Assembly.

Florence Fifer Bohrer, also a Republican, was the first

woman elected to the Illinois Senate. Elected in 1924, Bohrer was the daughter of former Illinois Governor Joseph W. Bohrer, who held office from 1889 - 1893. Bohrer was a Senator for four terms. Another woman was not elected to the Illinois Senate for twenty years. In 1950, Lottie Holman O'Neill was elected to the Senate of the 67th General Assembly.

Throughout the first five decades of electing women to the General Assembly, levels of representation remained relatively stable and proportionately small. During this fifty year period, the overall percentage of female representation in a given assembly was never greater than 4% of the total membership. The average level of female representation over these twenty-five sessions was slightly more than 2% of overall membership.

The election of 1972 witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of women elected. Indeed, 1972 was a turning-point election in the history of female representation in the Illinois General Assembly. A total of eleven (11) women were elected to the 78th General Assembly and accounted for 5% of the total membership. This growth in the number of women elected constituted a 36% increase from the previous session. Since 1972, the trend of increasing levels of female representation has steadily continued.

Each subsequent election has resulted in progressively higher numbers of women elected to legislative office. The 1986 election realized the largest number of women elected to a single session to date. In 1986, thirty-two (32) women were

elected to the 85th General Assembly and comprised 18% of the total General Assembly membership. From 1972 through 1986, the level of female representation tripled. Over this 14 year period, the proportion of women serving in the General Assembly increased 360% !

TABLE 2. WOMEN ELECTED TO THE ILLINOIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

<u>G.A.</u>	<u>ELECTION YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF G.A.</u>
53rd	1922	1	1%
54th	1924	4	2%
55th	1926	6	3%
56th	1928	7	3%
57th	1930	4	2%
58th	1932	4	2%
59th	1934	2	1%
60th	1936	2	1%
61st	1938	4	2%
62nd	1940	3	2%
63rd	1942	3	2%
64th	1944	3	2%
65th	1946	4	2%
66th	1948	4	2%
67th	1950	7	3%
68th	1952	8	4%
69th	1954	8	4%
70th ¹	1956	8	3%
71st	1958	9	4%
72nd	1960	7	3%
73rd	1962	5	2%
74th ²	1964	7	3%
75th	1966	5	2%
76th	1968	5	2%
77th	1970	4	2%
78th ³	1972	11	5%
79th	1974	14	6%
80th	1976	21	9%
81st	1978	27	11%
82nd	1980	31	13%
83rd ⁴	1982	28	16%
84th	1984	30	17%
85th	1986	32	18%

TOTAL Number of Seats Held by Women (1922-1986) 318

SOURCES: Illinois Blue Books, Handbooks of the Illinois General Assembly.

¹ 1956 Redistricting resulted in an increase of seven seats in the Senate for a total of 58 seats and an increase of 24 seats in the House for a total of 177.

² 1964 House failed to agree on reapportionment, consequently new districts were not drawn and Representatives ran "at large" - all listed on a single "bedsheet ballot".

³ 1972 Statutory increase in size of Senate by one, for a total of 59 seats; change resulted from development of new legislative districts.

⁴ 1982 Reduction of House by 59 seats for new total of 118 House seats; reduction occurred because of popular vote in 1980 to eliminate the system of cumulative voting and multi-member districts.

An examination of Table 3 indicates that women gained an established presence in the Illinois House earlier than they did in the Senate. This pattern of development is likely explained by elite recruitment theory. Based on a progressive political opportunity structure, it is logical that women would need to acquire the political resources of a lower office prior to succeeding to an higher office. Once a woman was elected to the House of Representatives, women have, without interruption, occupied legislative seats in the House. However this presence was proportionately small. Only in the last decade has the percentage of women Representatives risen above 10%.

In the Senate, women have encountered limited electoral success. With the exception of Florence Fifer Bohrer, who was "boosted" to political office by her political heritage, women were absent in the ranks of Illinois Senators until 1950. From 1950 through 1980, the percentage of women Senators in a given assembly was never greater than 7%. The average percentage of female representation during this 30 year period was 3%. The elections of 1982, 1984, and 1986 produced increasingly higher numbers of women Senators. As of 1986, women held 20% of all Senate seats. These findings suggest that an established presence for women in the Senate has been achieved.

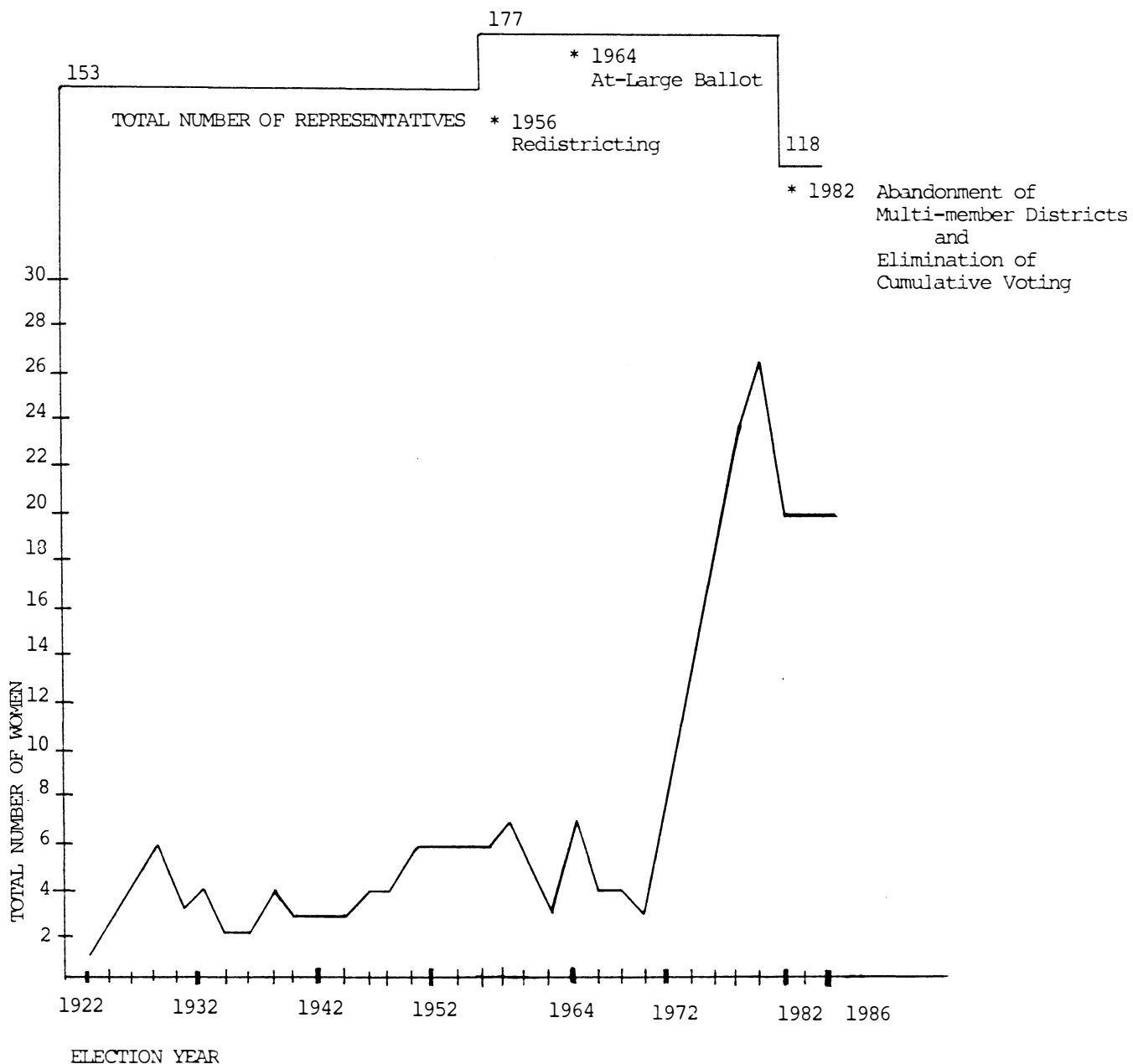
Figure 1 illustrates the trend line of levels of female representation in the Illinois House of Representatives. Figure 2 displays the historical development of female

representation in the Illinois Senate. The trend line graphically reveals the rapid and substantial increase in the actual number of women occupying Senate office.

Of the 21 women who have held Senate office, eleven (11) of these women have held office in both houses. All of these eleven women first held office in the House of Representatives. This conforms to the conventional wisdom of political career patterns. The lower office of the House functions as a "spring board" to higher political office in the Senate. Gove, Carlson, & Carlson have previously documented the existence of this career pattern in the Illinois Legislature (1976). Slightly more than 50% of the women elected to the Senate followed this career pattern. It appears that the political opportunity was similarly defined for women as for men.

The comparison of the development of female representation in the House and Senate revealed a "lag effect". The trend lines suggest that only after women secured a stable political base in the lower house were they able to obtain a solid presence in the upper ranks of the Senate.

**Figure 1. Levels of Female Representation in
Illinois House of Representatives
1922 - 1986**



**Figure 2. Levels of Female Representation in
Illinois Senate
1922 - 1986**

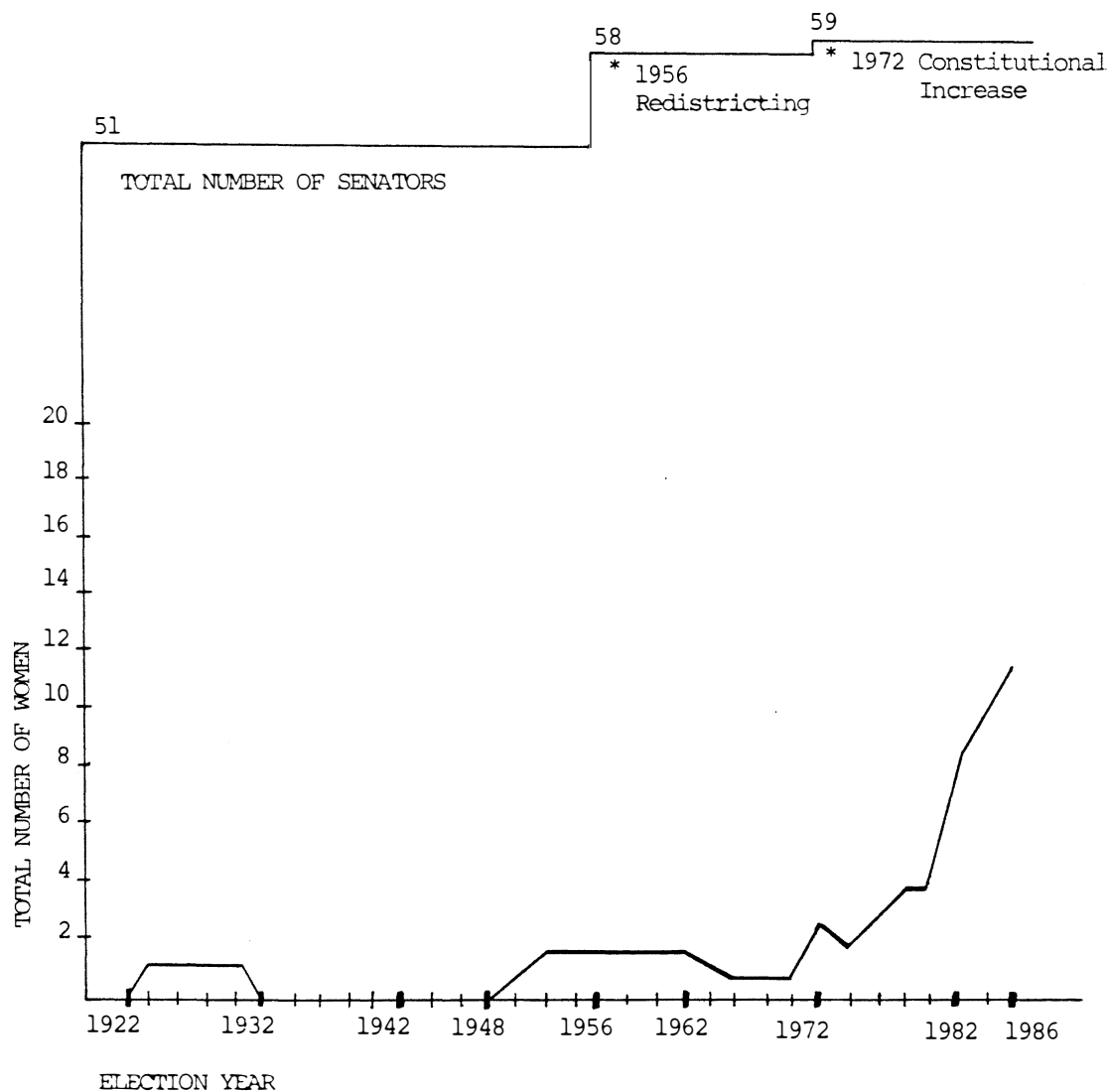


TABLE 3. WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN ILLINOIS BY HOUSE

<u>G.A.</u>	<u>ELECTION</u> <u>YEAR</u>	<u># IN</u> <u>HOUSE</u>	<u>% OF</u>	<u># IN</u> <u>SENATE</u>	<u>% OF</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
53rd	1922	1	<1%	0	-	1
54th	1924	3	2%	1	2%	4
55th	1926	5	3%	1	2%	6
56th	1928	6	4%	1	2%	7
57th	1930	3	2%	1	2%	4
58th	1932	4	3%	0	-	4
59th	1934	2	1%	0	-	2
60th	1936	2	1%	0	-	2
61st	1938	4	3%	0	-	4
62nd	1940	3	2%	0	-	3
63rd	1942	3	2%	0	-	3
64th	1944	3	2%	0	-	3
65th	1946	4	3%	0	-	4
66th	1948	4	3%	0	-	4
67th	1950	6	4%	1	2%	7
68th	1952	6	4%	2	4%	8
69th	1954	6	4%	2	4%	8
70th ¹	1956	6	3%	2	3%	8
71st	1958	7	4%	2	3%	9
72nd	1960	5	3%	2	3%	7
73rd	1962	3	2%	2	3%	5
74th ²	1964	7	4%	0	-	7
75th	1966	4	2%	1	2%	5
76th	1968	4	2%	1	2%	5
77th	1970	3	2%	1	2%	4
78th ³	1972	8	5%	3	5%	11
79th	1974	12	7%	2	3%	14
80th	1976	18	10%	3	5%	21
81st	1978	23	13%	4	7%	27
82nd	1980	27	15%	4	7%	31
83rd ⁴	1982	20	17%	8	14%	28
84th	1984	20	17%	10	17%	30
85th	1986	20	17%	12	20%	32
TOTAL		252	5%(ave)	66	3.5%(ave)	318

SOURCES: Illinois Blue Books, Handbooks of the Illinois General Assembly.

¹ 1956 Redistricting resulted in an increase of seven seats in the Senate for a total of 58 seats and an increase of 24 seats in the House of a total of 177.

² 1964 House failed to agree on reapportionment, consequently new districts were not drawn and Representatives ran "at large" - all listed on a single "bedsheet ballot".

³ 1972 Statutory increase in size of Senate by one, for a total of 59 seats; change resulted from development of new legislative districts.

⁴ 1982 Reduction of House by 59 seats for new total of 118 House seats; reduction occurred because of popular vote in 1980 to eliminate the system of cumulative voting and multi-member districts.

TABLE 4. WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN ILLINOIS BY PARTY

<u>G.A.</u>	<u>ELECTION</u> <u>YEAR</u>	<u># OF</u> <u>DEMOCRATS</u>	<u># OF</u> <u>REPUBLICANS</u>
53rd	1922	0	1
54th	1924	0	4
55th	1926	2	4
56th	1928	2	5
57th	1930	1	3
58th	1932	1	3
59th	1934	0	2
60th	1936	0	2
61st	1938	1	3
62nd	1940	0	3
63rd	1942	0	3
64th	1944	0	3
65th	1946	0	4
66th	1948	0	4
67th	1950	1	6
68th	1952	1	7
69th	1954	1	7
70th ¹	1956	4	4
71st	1958	5	4
72nd	1960	3	4
73rd	1962	2	3
74th ²	1964	3	4
75th	1966	2	3
76th	1968	2	3
77th	1970	2	2
78th ³	1972	5	6
79th	1974	6	8
80th	1976	9	12
81st	1978	11	16
82nd	1980	12	19
83rd ⁴	1982	11	17
84th	1984	12	18
85th	1986	15	17
TOTAL		114	204

SOURCES: Illinois Blue Books, Handbooks of the Illinois General Assembly.

¹ 1956 Redistricting resulted in an increase of seven seats in the Senate for a total of 58 seats and an increase of 24 seats in the House of a total of 177.

² 1964 House failed to agree on reapportionment, consequently new districts were not drawn and Representatives ran "at large" - all listed on a single "bedsheet ballot".

³ 1972 Statutory increase in size of Senate by one, for a total of 59 seats; change resulted from development of new legislative districts.

⁴ 1982 Reduction of House by 59 seats for new total of 118 House seats; reduction occurred because of popular vote in 1980 to eliminate the system of cumulative voting and multi-member districts.

Table 4 presents the data on female representation and partisan affiliation. Fifty (50) of the 83 women elected have been Republicans and the remaining 33 have been Democrats. The first Democratic women elected to the Illinois General Assembly were Sarah Bond Hanley and Mary C. McAdams who were both elected to the House in 1926. The Democratic party did not have a woman member in the Illinois Senate until 1966, when Esther Saperstein was elected.

Sixty percent (60%) of all women elected to the General Assembly thus far have been Republicans. Prior to 1956, Democratic women were relatively absent among the ranks of female legislators. From 1922 through 1954, women from the Democratic party held only ten (10) of the 74 seats represented by women. Republican women accounted for 64 seats. Throughout this 32 year period, Democratic women comprised only 13% of overall levels of female representation compared to 87% Republican women.

Out of the seventeen sessions convened between 1922 and 1954, Republicans controlled the majority of seats in both houses in 13 out of 17 sessions. Previous research by Rule (1981) demonstrated that Republican party dominance favored the election of women. Hence, the higher levels of female representation by Republican women in the Illinois General Assembly during this period is consistent with earlier findings (Rule, 1981).

During the period from 1956 to 1972, the ratio of Republican to Democrat women was substantially reduced, with Republican women constituting a slightly higher percentage. Of the 50 seats held by women over this 16 year time span, 27 or 54% were occupied by Republican women and 23 or 46% were held by Democratic women.

From 1972 through 1984, a resurgence of Republican dominance among women legislators evolved. Ninety-six (96) of the 162 seats held by women during this period were filled by Republicans and sixty-six (66) by Democrats. As a percentage then, women of the Republican party controlled nearly 60% of all seats represented by women over this 12 year span.

The most recent election of this study, the 1986 election, is characterized by a significant levelling-off in the disproportionate ratio of Republican women to Democrat women. Of the 32 women elected in 1986, fifteen or 47% were Democrats and seventeen or 53% were Republicans. Although it is too early to state definitively, it appears that the level of female representation in the state legislature is becoming similar for both political parties.

These findings on party affiliation generally confirm Hypothesis 1. More Republican women than Democratic women have been elected to the Illinois General Assembly. This is especially true for early periods. The balance of female representation among the two political parties has recently

become more evenly distributed. Historically, however, Republican women have been "advantaged" for election to the state legislature compared to Democratic women.

Among those women who served only in the Senate, four (4) have been Republicans and six (6) have been Democrats. Of those who held office only in the House of Representatives, thirty-eight (38) women have been Republicans and twenty-four (24) have been Democrats. Finally, among the women elected to both houses, eight (8) have been Republicans and three (3) have been Democrats.

Closer scrutiny of the relationship between female representation and house membership yields an interesting variation of the findings based on aggregate data. Membership in the House of Representatives broadly reflects partisan trends of the composite of women elected to the Illinois General Assembly. Table 5 presents the number of women in the Illinois House according to party affiliation.

Women from the Republican party have been the dominant group of women elected to the House of Representatives. Since 1950, the number of Democratic women has been stabilizing. The period between 1956 through 1962 was actually characterized by an interim period of Democratic dominance among female legislators. The 1960's and 1970's produced a decline in the number and proportion of Democratic women elected to the House. Within the last decade, however, the proportion of Democratic women has steadily increased and has begun to reach parity with the proportion of Republican women

representatives.

Beginning as early as 1968, the national Democratic party recognized the imperative to include women in its political machinery. As a consequence of the women's consciousness-raising experiences and organized political activity manifested in the feminist movement, the Democratic party necessarily broadened its ideological profile to include the fundamental concept of the equality of the sexes. The inclusion of women in the national Democratic party was overtly created by the McGovern-Fraser Rules adopted in 1972 which mandated a specific percentage of women be among the ranks of national party delegates. This expansion of ideological values engineered by the Democratic party could, in part, explain increased levels of female representation among Democratic legislators in Illinois.

As well, the locus of party control within the Illinois Democratic party has shifted considerably. Historically, Chicago has wielded the most influential power base within the state Democratic party. Mayor Richard J. Daley was regarded as the "boss" of a strong political delegation which "ran" state Democratic politics. The urban politics of Chicago are inseparable from state legislative politics in Illinois. Since the death of Mayor Daley in 1976, the Illinois Democratic party has undergone significant changes. Although Chicago-Cook County politics are still determinant to state politics, this influence is fragmented by ethnic, racial and ideological cleavages. The Illinois Democratic party is not as rigidly controlled or as inaccessible to

blacks or women.

Figure 3 illustrates the developmental trends of female representation among the political parties in the Illinois House of Representatives from 1922 through 1986.

An historical analysis of female representation and party affiliation in the Illinois Senate produces several important findings. Throughout the 64 year period covered in this study only twenty-one (21) women have been elected to the Senate. At an aggregate level, nearly 60% (12) of these women have been Republicans. Although the Republican party appears to have advantaged women seeking Senate office, Democratic women experienced a temporary period of dominance from 1966 through 1976. The last decade has manifested what appears to be the beginning of a convergence of the ratio of Republican women to Democratic women elected to Illinois Senate ranks, both as a percentage of Chamber membership as well as percentage of party delegation. Figure 4 evidences these trends. Table 6 provides actual numbers by party and percentages of women among party delegation.

As indicated by Table 6, it would appear that as a percentage of party delegation, there exists a great disparity between Democratic women elected to the House as compared to Democratic women elected to the Senate. In 1986, women comprised a larger percentage of the Senate party delegation than in the House. It is unclear whether this can be explained by a straight-forward relationship with gender. Three of the six Democratic women elected to the Senate in 1986 were black. It is possible that race and the influence

of urban politics actually account for higher levels of female representation in the Senate. Further analysis would be needed to explain this disparity with more certainty.

Figure 3. Levels of Female Representation in
Illinois House of Representatives by Party
1922 - 1986

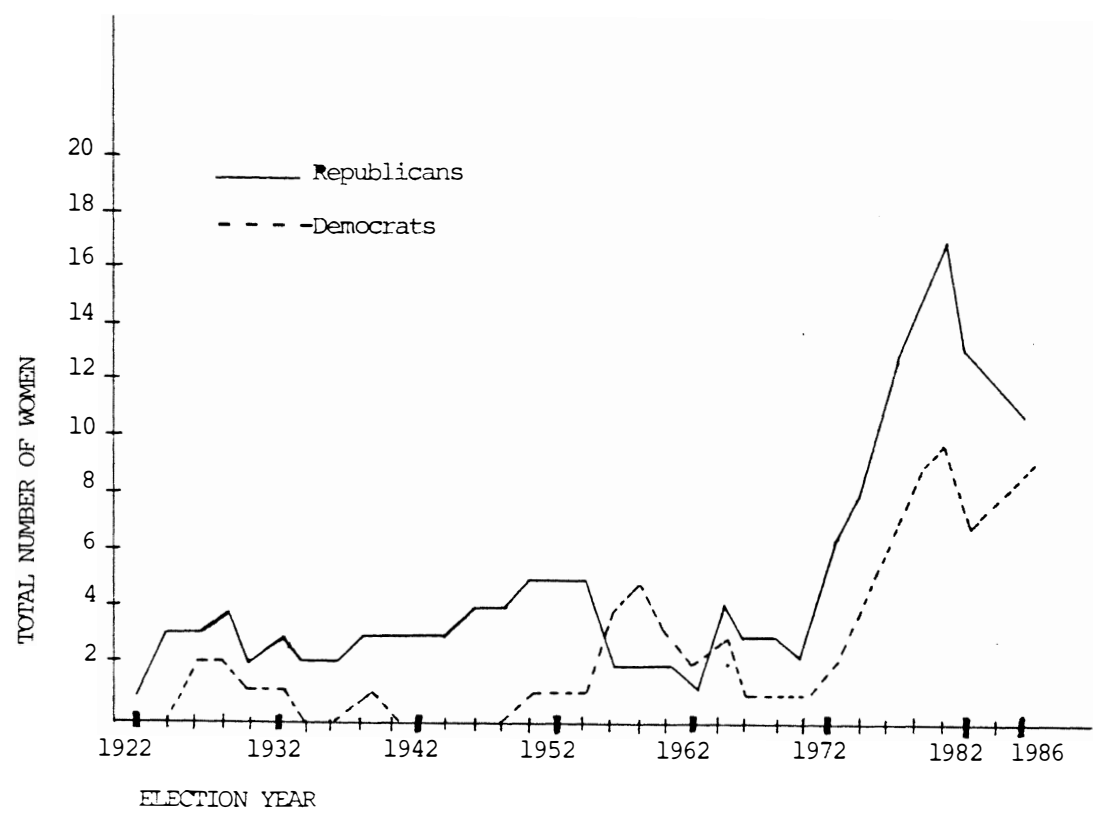


Figure 4. Levels of Female Representation in
Illinois Senate by Party
1922 - 1986

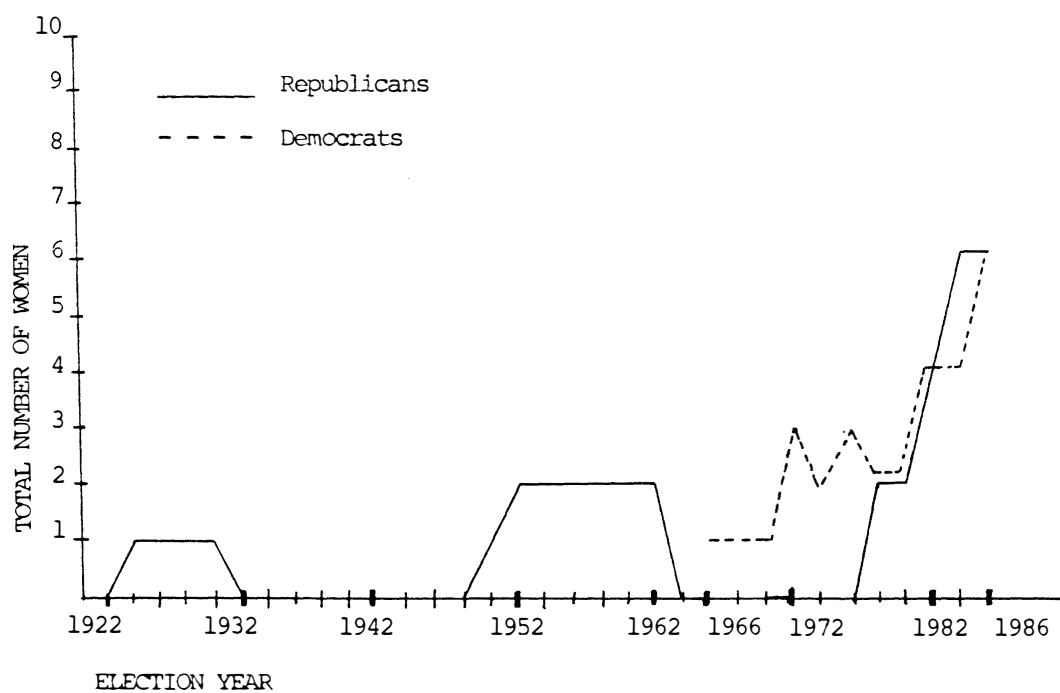


TABLE 5. WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN THE ILLINOIS HOUSE BY PARTY

<u>G.A.</u>	<u>ELECTION</u> <u>YEAR</u>	<u>DEMOCRATS</u>		<u>REPUBLICANS</u>	
		<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF PARTY</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>% OF PARTY</u>
53rd	1922	0	-	1	1%
54th	1924	0	-	3	3%
55th	1926	2	3%	3	3%
56th	1928	2	3%	4	4%
57th	1930	1	1%	2	2%
58th	1932	1	1%	3	4%
59th	1934	0	-	2	1%
60th	1936	0	-	2	3%
61st	1938	1	1%	3	4%
62nd	1940	0	-	3	4%
63rd	1942	0	-	3	4%
64th	1944	0	-	3	4%
65th	1946	0	-	4	5%
66th	1948	0	-	4	6%
67th	1950	1	1%	5	6%
68th	1952	1	2%	5	6%
69th	1954	1	1%	5	6%
70th ¹	1956	4	5%	2	2%
71st	1958	5	6%	2	2%
72nd	1960	3	3%	2	2%
73rd	1962	2	2%	1	1%
74th ²	1964	3	3%	4	7%
75th	1966	1	1%	3	3%
76th	1968	1	1%	3	3%
77th	1970	1	1%	2	2%
78th ³	1972	2	2%	6	7%
79th	1974	4	4%	8	11%
80th	1976	6	6%	12	15%
81st	1978	9	10%	14	16%
82nd	1980	10	12%	17	19%
83rd ⁴	1982	7	10%	13	27%
84th	1984	8	12%	12	24%
85th	1986	9	13%	11	22%
TOTAL		85	ave. 3%	167	ave. 7%

SOURCES: Illinois Blue Books, Handbooks of the Illinois General Assembly.

¹ 1956 Redistricting resulted in an increase of seven seats in the Senate for a total of 58 seats and an increase of 24 seats in the House of a total of 177.

² 1964 House failed to agree on reapportionment, consequently new districts were not drawn and Representatives ran "at large" - all listed on a single "bedsheet ballot".

³ 1972 Statutory increase in size of Senate by one, for a total of 59 seats; change resulted from development of new legislative districts.

⁴ 1982 Reduction of House by 59 seats for new total of 118 House seats; reduction occurred because of popular vote in 1980 to eliminate the system of cumulative voting and multi-member districts.

TABLE 6. WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN THE ILLINOIS SENATE BY PARTY

G.A.	ELECTION YEAR	DEMOCRATS		REPUBLICANS	
		NUMBER	% OF PARTY	NUMBER	% OF PARTY
53rd	1922	0	-	0	-
54th	1924	0	-	1	3%
55th	1926	0	-	1	3%
56th	1928	0	-	1	3%
57th	1930	0	-	1	3%
58th	1932	0	-	0	-
59th	1934	0	-	0	-
60th	1936	0	-	0	-
61st	1938	0	-	0	-
62nd	1940	0	-	0	-
63rd	1942	0	-	0	-
64th	1944	0	-	0	-
65th	1946	0	-	0	-
66th	1948	0	-	0	-
67th	1950	0	-	1	3%
68th	1952	0	-	2	5%
69th	1954	0	-	2	6%
70th ¹	1956	0	-	2	5%
71st	1958	0	-	2	6%
72nd	1960	0	-	2	6%
73rd	1962	0	-	2	6%
74th ²	1964	0	-	0	-
75th	1966	1	5%	0	-
76th	1968	1	5%	0	-
77th	1970	1	3%	0	-
78th ³	1972	3	10%	0	-
79th	1974	2	6%	0	-
80th	1976	3	9%	0	-
81st	1978	2	6%	2	7%
82nd	1980	2	7%	2	7%
83rd ⁴	1982	4	12%	4	15%
84th	1984	4	13%	6	21%
85th	1986	6	19%	6	21%
TOTAL		29	ave. 3%	37	ave. 3.6%

SOURCES: Illinois Blue Books, Handbooks of the Illinois General Assembly.

¹ 1956 Redistricting resulted in an increase of seven seats in the Senate for a total of 58 seats and an increase of 24 seats in the House of a total of 177.

² 1964 House failed to agree on reapportionment, consequently new districts were not drawn and Representatives ran "at large" - all listed on a single "bedsheet ballot".

³ 1972 Statutory increase in size of Senate by one, for a total of 59 seats; change resulted from development of new legislative districts.

⁴ 1982 Reduction of House by 59 seats for new total of 118 House seats; reduction occurred because of popular vote in 1980 to eliminate the system of cumulative voting and multi-member districts.

In later years, levels of female representation in the Illinois legislature have been influenced by structural changes in the composition of house membership , as well as by changes in the electoral mechanisms. Because of the relative absence of women during early periods , alterations of chamber composition created minimal immediate effects upon female representation.

At different times, both houses of the Illinois General Assembly have experienced structural changes. The House of Representatives has undergone more frequent alterations than the Senate and has also changed its electoral mechanisms.

Within the Senate, the two structural changes which increased the number of Senators have seemingly resulted in little to no variation in levels of female representation. At the same time as the one-seat expansion of overall membership took place in 1972, the ranks of women Senators gained two seats. It is unclear whether this is a direct correlation. Additional analysis would be required to evaluate the influence of other variables and to rule out the presence of a spurious relationship. Figure 5 depicts the trends of membership composition in the Senate.

The several structural changes which have altered the House of Representatives allow an unique opportunity to examine the impact of such changes upon female representation. The first change examined by this study was

the 24-seat increase in House membership caused by the 1956 redistricting. No immediate increase in the number of women Representatives followed this expansion of the House. After a one-seat gain in 1958, the number of women representatives actually declined.

The decrease in female representation might have resulted as a consequence of increased competition created by the expansion of the House membership. It would seem likely that more male candidates would seek office given the increase in the number of available seats and higher chances of election. This argument is supported by the earlier findings of Diamond (1977) regarding the impact of seat competition upon levels of female representation within state legislatures.

The unprecedented at-large "bedsheet ballot" election of 1964 witnessed a marked temporary increase in the number of women elected to the Illinois House. Women occupied four more seats in the 74th General Assembly than the previous 73rd General Assembly for a total of seven (7) seats. Republican women gained three of the four new seats and also realized a 6% increase in the percentage of women within a party delegation. These findings support Hypothesis 2 and again suggest that the Illinois Republican party has historically advantaged women seeking state legislative office.

Levels of female representation in the House did not grow significantly until 1970. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of women representatives grew exponentially. This period produced an eight-fold increase in the number of women

elected to the Illinois House of Representatives.

In 1982, the Illinois House experienced both an institutional/structural change and a modification of its electoral mechanism. The total number of Representatives was reduced by 59 seats, or 33% of total membership. Also, at this time, cumulative voting was eliminated and the system of multi-member districts was abandoned.

Although women sustained an absolute reduction in the number of seats held, from 27 to 20, the percentage of women representatives increased from 15% to 17%. Consequently, women realized a growth in relative strength and proportion of overall membership. Figure 6 charts the changing membership composition of the House of Representatives.

As a result of these findings, Hypothesis 3 is invalidated. There does not appear to be a straight-forward relationship between the 1982 changes and lower levels of female representation. As predicted, the actual number of women elected to the House did decrease. However, the relative proportion of women representatives increased rather than decreased as hypothesized. Based on the data of this study, it is difficult to separate the effects of the structural changes from those of the modified electoral mechanisms. Further investigation will be needed to understand the impact of the elimination of cumulative voting and the abandonment of multi-member districts. The impact of the electoral changes may be masked by the structural reduction of the House itself.

**Figure 5. Female Representation in Illinois Senate
after Structural Changes
1922 - 1986**

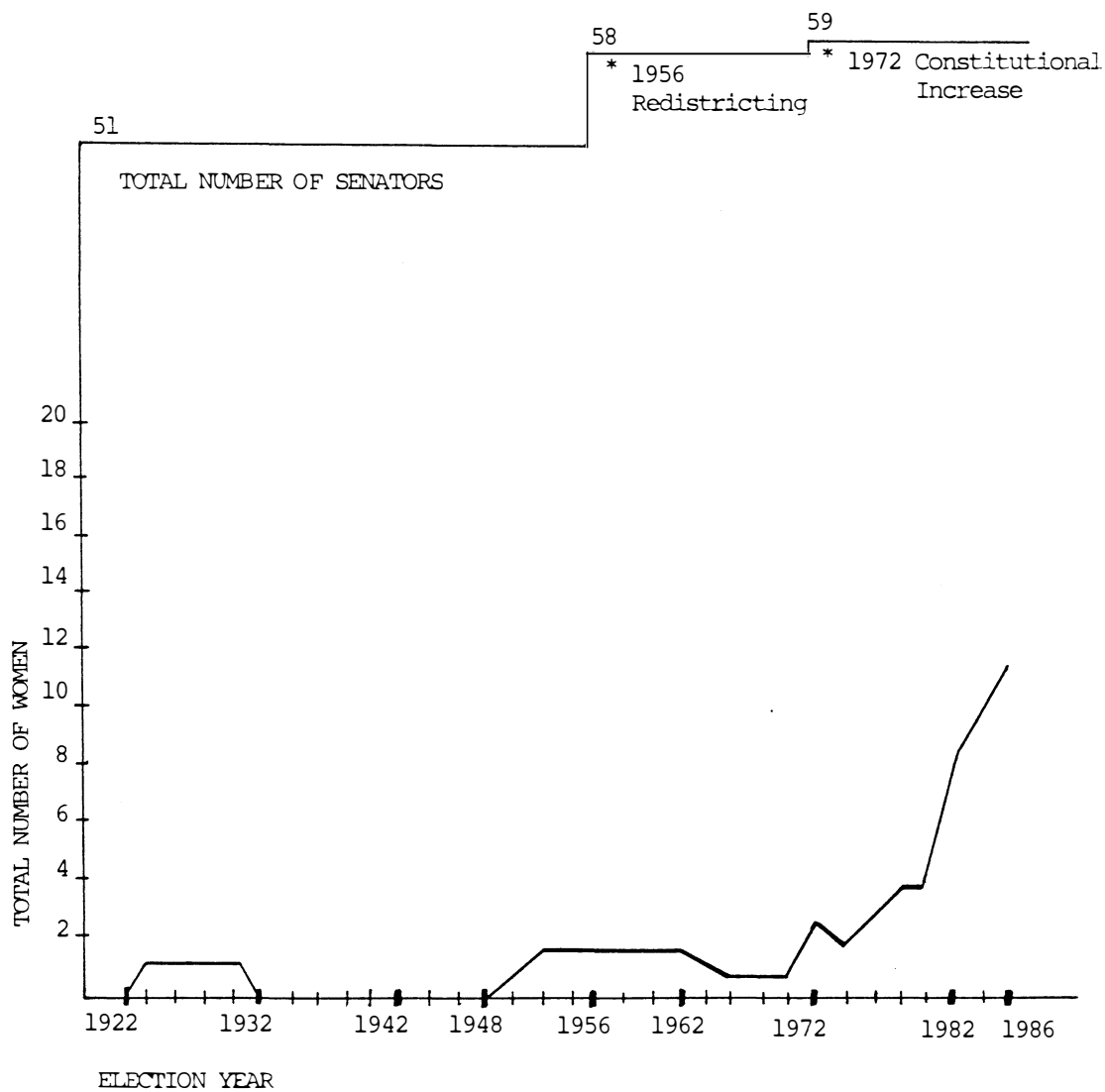
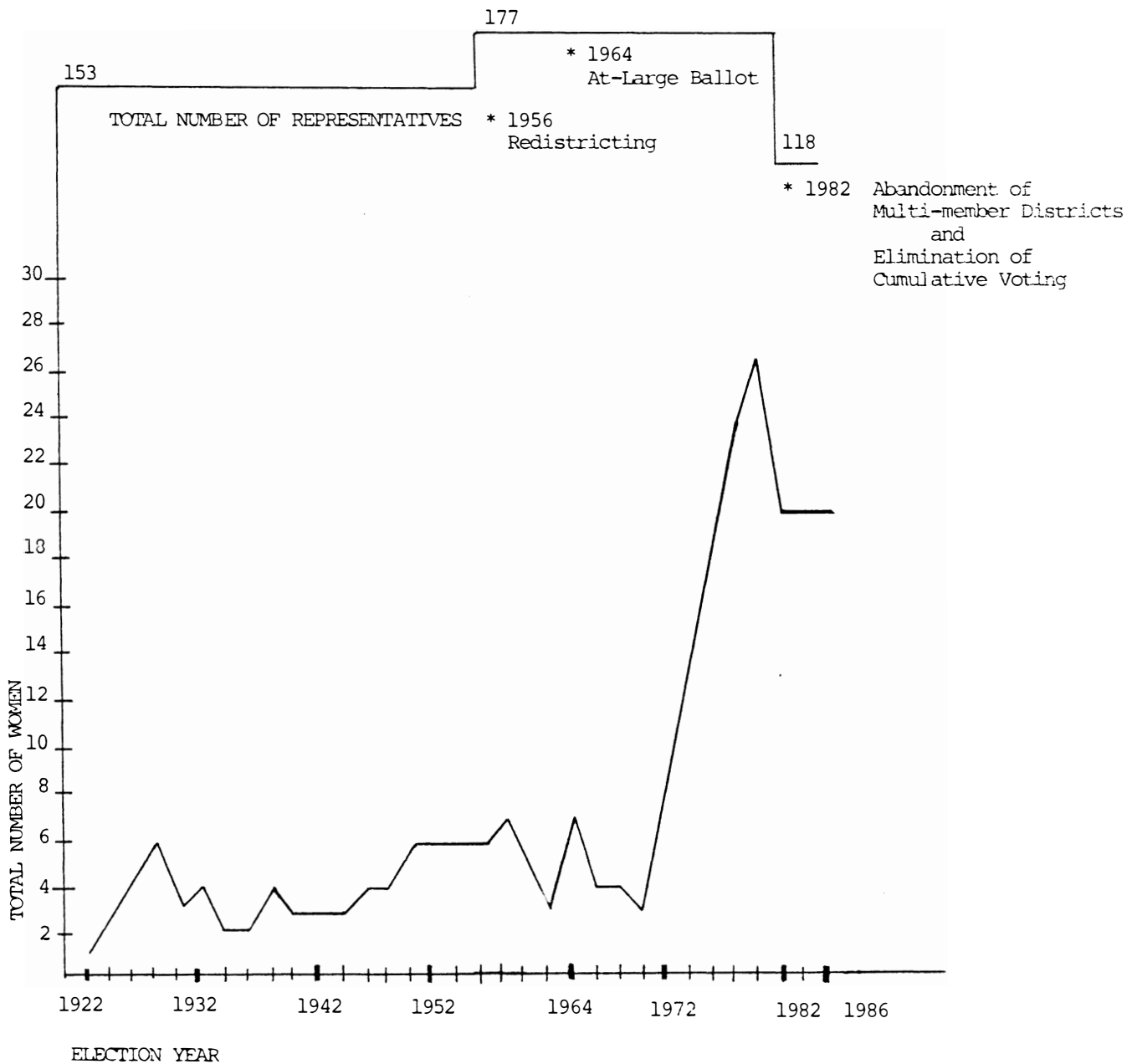


Figure 6. Female Representation in Illinois House of Representatives after Structural Changes
1922 - 1986



Floy Clements was the first black woman elected to the Illinois General Assembly. Elected in 1958, Clements, a Chicago Democrat, served one term in the House of Representatives. Earlean Collins, elected in 1976, was the first black woman to serve in the Illinois Senate. In total, twelve (12) black women have been elected to the Illinois General Assembly. Of these black women, nine (9) have served in the House; one has served only in the Senate and two have held office in both the House and the Senate. All but one of the black women legislators have been Chicago Democrats. The exception- Wyvetter H. Younge - is a Democrat who currently represents the Alton-East St. Louis area. Black women comprise 14% of all women elected to the General Assembly to date. Moreover, black women account for 36% of all Democratic women elected through 1986. Table 7 lists the number of black women by assembly.

An examination of Table 7 indicates that since 1972 black women have acquired a small, but stable base within the General Assembly. Black women have been elected to every legislative session since the 78th General Assembly. Within the most recent assembly studied (1986), black women accounted for 25% of all women elected to the General Assembly and slightly more than 53% of all Democratic women elected. Black women comprised 38% of the entire black delegation. Nonetheless, black women constituted only 5% of the total General Assembly membership.

A comparison between the percentage of black women

legislators in Illinois and the national average of black women state legislators produces an interesting finding. Recall that , as of 1987, the national average of black women state legislators was 1.2% (Tomasson, 1987). When the national average is compared to the percentage (5%) of black women in the 85th Illinois General Assembly (1986), the percentage of black women state legislators in Illinois is significantly higher than the national average. This large difference is likely explained by the influence of urban politics and the rise of the "black machine" in Chicago, as demonstrated by the 1983 election of Mayor Harold Washington, the city's first black mayor.

In addition, the relatively greater equality of sexual representation in the black delegation is probably a reflection of the impact of the civil rights movement. Throughout the history of social movements in the United States, the civil rights movement has been the antecedent of the feminist movement. This pattern of evolution is evident in the anti-slavery and suffrage movements of the mid-19th century, as well as the civil rights and women's rights movements of the 1960's. Given that racial equality appears to be a precursor of sexual equality , it is consistent that black women have achieved greater relative equality within the black delegation. Such a finding is even more reasonable when understood in the context of the racial politics of the city of Chicago.

Table 8 contains the breakdown of information on black women elected to the House of Representatives. The decade of

1976 - 1986 is characterized by a steady progressive increase in the number of black women. Patterns of development are similar to those which emerge from the aggregate data.

An analysis of black women legislators in the Senate unearthed comparable trends. However, black women were not elected to the Senate until 1976 - four years after the breakthrough in the House. Absolute numbers of black women Senators remain small, but again appear stable and entrenched. Moreover, black women comprise a substantially higher percentage (43%) of the total black Senate delegation as compared to the black women of the House. Finally, black women now account for one-fourth of all women Senators. Table 9 provides the data on black women Senators.

TABLE 7. BLACK WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN ILLINOIS

<u>G.A.</u>	<u>ELECTION</u> <u>YEAR</u>	<u># OF</u> <u>BLACK WOMEN</u>	<u>TOTAL #</u> <u>BLACKS</u>	<u>% OF</u> <u>ALL BLACKS</u>	<u>% OF</u> <u>WOMEN</u>	<u>% OF</u> <u>G.A.</u>
71st	1958	1	10	10%	11%	<1%
78th	1972	1	19	5%	9%	<1%
79th	1974	1	20	5%	7%	<1%
80th	1976	3	20	15%	14%	1%
81st	1978	4	23	17%	15%	2%
82nd	1980	6	21	29%	19%	3%
83rd	1982	6	20	30%	21%	3%
84th	1984	6	20	30%	20%	3%
85th	1986	8	21	38%	25%	5%
<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>36</u>	<u>174</u>	<u>20%</u>	<u>16%</u>	<u>2%</u>

SOURCES: Illinois Blue Books; Handbooks of the Illinois General Assembly; Research Memorandum File 9-238, "Black Legislators in Illinois, 1876 - 1981", Illinois Legislative Council, December 11, 1981.

TABLE 8. BLACK WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN THE ILLINOIS HOUSE

<u>G.A.</u>	<u>ELECTION YEAR</u>	<u># OF BLACK WOMEN</u>	<u>TOTAL # BLACKS</u>	<u>% OF ALL BLACKS</u>	<u>% OF WOMEN</u>	<u>% OF HOUSE</u>
71st	1958	1	9	11%	11%	<1%
78th	1972	1	14	7%	13%	<1%
79th	1974	1	15	6%	8%	<1%
80th	1976	2	14	14%	11%	1%
81st	1978	3	17	17%	13%	2%
82nd	1980	5	16	31%	19%	3%
83rd	1982	4	14	29%	20%	3%
84th	1984	4	14	29%	20%	3%
85th	1986	5	14	36%	25%	4%
<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>26</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>20%</u>	<u>16%</u>	<u>2%</u>

SOURCES: Same as Table 7.

TABLE 9. BLACK WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN THE ILLINOIS SENATE

<u>G.A.</u>	<u>ELECTION YEAR</u>	<u># OF BLACK WOMEN</u>	<u>TOTAL # BLACKS</u>	<u>% OF BLACKS</u>	<u>% OF WOMEN</u>	<u>% OF SENATE</u>
80th	1976	1	6	17%	33%	2%
81st	1978	1	6	17%	25%	2%
82nd	1980	1	6	17%	25%	2%
83rd	1982	2	6	33%	25%	3%
84th	1984	2	6	33%	20%	3%
85th	1986	3	7	43%	25%	5%
<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>10</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>27%</u>	<u>26%</u>	<u>2.8%</u>

SOURCES: Same as Table 7.

Among the women elected to date, sixty-three percent (63%) have been elected from urban and suburban districts. Electoral districts were distinguished by region according to the following categories: urban, suburban, downstate metro, rural, and at-large. The at-large category applied to only those women elected to the House of Representatives in the 1964 "bedsheet ballot" election. Table 10 reveals that almost two-thirds of the women elected to the House represented urban and suburban areas. Almost 7% of the women were elected at-large in 1964. The remainder were fairly evenly split between downstate metro and rural regions. Within the Senate, the majority (57%) of the women have been elected from suburban and downstate metro districts. However, all regions were comparably represented by the total number of women Senators.

Based on the research of Verba & Nie, Hypothesis 4 accurately predicted the relationship between region and female representation. Residence in an urban or suburban community encourages political activity, specifically office-seeking behavior, of women. It is noteworthy that a specific district - the 34th District, Rockford - has elected women to the Senate for over a decade without interruption.

The finding that the largest percentage of the women elected to the Illinois General Assembly resided in urban and suburban areas, in effect, points to a centralized nomination process. The existence of such a phenomenon raises

several questions about the ramifications for female representation in Illinois. For example, how does a centralized nomination process affect the "pool of eligibles"? Do geographic constraints impede the selection and ultimate election of women to the General Assembly ? What is the effect of centralized nomination upon seat competitiveness ? These questions cannot be answered by this study; however, future research which explores such considerations could provide needed information about how to increase female representation in the Illinois legislature.

TABLE 10. WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN ILLINOIS BY DISTRICT
URBAN SUBURBAN DOWNSTATE METRO RURAL AT-LARGE

SENATE	5 23.8%	6 28.6%	6 28.6%	4 19%	N.A.
HOUSE	20 27.4%	29 39.7%	9 12.3%	10 13.7%	5 6.8%
TOTAL	25 26.6%	35 37.2%	15 16%	14 14.9%	5 5.3%

SOURCES: Same as Table 6.

Although information regarding religious denomination was unavailable for 30 women included in this study, the available data indicated that 35% of the women elected identified themselves as Protestant, 16% as Catholics, 21% as Jewish, and 15% were coded as other, which included such denominations as Greek Orthodox, Episcopalian, etc.

Among those women legislators who had reported religious affiliation, the largest proportion identified themselves with Protestant denominations. The predominance of Protestant women legislators broadly reflects the pattern of religious affiliation of male legislators. The religious background of the typical male legislator is Protestant (Keefe & Ogul, 1985). This finding suggests that during the recruitment process the criteria of religious affiliation is comparable for men and women seeking state legislative office. Finally, the relatively high percentage of Jewish women legislators intimates the importance of ethnic/urban politics during the recruitment process for the Illinois General Assembly. Comparable data on male legislators was not available and was not collected for this study. Again, future research could

examine a comparison of the religious backgrounds of male and female legislators to discern any similarities and differences which might impact upon the recruitment process.

Table 11 presents the religious affiliation of the women elected thus far to the Illinois General Assembly.

TABLE 11. RELIGIONS OF ILLINOIS WOMEN LEGISLATORS

<u>PROTESTANT</u>	<u>CATHOLIC</u>	<u>JEWISH</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>N.A.</u>
33	15	2	14	30
35.1%	16%	21%	14.9%	31.9%

SOURCES: Same as Table 6.

The findings on marital status conform to those documented in previous research (Kirkpatrick, 1974). In both houses, the majority of women elected to office were married when first elected. The marital status of Illinois women legislators is similar to that of their male counterparts. Furthermore, this finding reinforces the results of earlier studies (Dubeck, 1976; Kirkpatrick, 1974; Keefe & Ogul, 1985). The implications of these findings for the recruitment process are significant. It appears that marital status, specifically being married, is an important eligibility factor for initial inclusion in the "pool of eligibles". Although discernable changes are occurring, a woman seeking state legislative office is, to some degree, advantaged by being married.

Based upon data obtained from the 1987 Illinois Statistical Abstract, it appears that women elected to the Illinois General Assembly are more likely to be married than the average Illinois citizen. In 1980, census data indicated

that 53% of Illinois females and 59% of Illinois males were currently married, whereas slightly more than 70% of Illinois women legislators were married when first elected.

Table 12 summarizes the marital status of women elected by house served in. Within the Senate, 62% of the women were married, 19% were divorced, 15% were single and one (about 5%) was widowed. This trend is roughly replicated in the House of Representatives. However, there were less than half as many divorced women. Of the women elected to the House, 73% were married, 8% were divorced, 11% were single and 8% were widowed.

TABLE 12. MARITAL STATUS OF ILLINOIS WOMEN LEGISLATORS

	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
MARRIED	13 61.9%	53 72.6%	66 70.2%
DIVORCED	4 19%	6 8.2%	10 10.6%
SINGLE	3 14.3%	8 11%	11 11.7%
WIDOWED	1 4.8%	6 8.2%	7 7.4%

SOURCES: Same as Table 6.

All of the women elected to the Illinois General Assembly reported active involvement in voluntary associations, which included civic, religious and cultural organizations. Moreover, 92% of the women legislators indicated participation, often encompassing leadership roles, in a political or party organization. The implications of these findings suggest that, for women, active membership in voluntary and political organizations may provide resources

necessary for inclusion in the "pool of eligibles". Previous research also concluded that political party involvement and organizational memberships are important to women seeking elective state office (Kirkpatrick, 1974 ; Merritt, 1977 ; Welch, 1978). Such activities likely demonstrate women's "proven accomplishment" and leadership skills to the "recruiters" (Merritt, 1977; Welch, 1978).

Kirkpatrick's landmark study of women state legislators found that membership in the League of Women Voters had been a determinant factor in the political careers of many women (Kirkpatrick, 1974). Forty-five percent of the women elected to the Illinois General Assembly reported active League membership. Due to the limits of the biographical data available, it is difficult to determine the significance of League membership to the recruitment of women . The data did not distinguish between levels of membership involvement, ie. leadership roles. More importantly, a substantial number of women did not report League of Women Voters membership. It is unknown whether this omission reflects non-membership or a simple failure to report LWV membership. Nonetheless, almost half of the women elected DID report involvement in the LWV. Again, such involvement likely provides invaluable resources which can be converted into political resources during the recruitment process.

Data on prior political office was categorized according to appointed office and elected office. Table 13 summarizes the findings. Nearly 27% of all women legislators had previously held an appointed office. Of those women elected

to the Illinois Senate, almost 29% had served in an appointed office. Within the group of women elected to the House of Representatives, 26% reported a prior appointed office.

Forty-three percent of all women legislators reported prior elected office. Within the group of women elected to the Illinois Senate, approximately 67% had previously held an elected political office. Almost 36% of the women elected to the Illinois House indicated prior elected office. It is evident that, for women, the experience of prior political office is critical for election to the Illinois General Assembly; prior office is especially significant for women elected to the Illinois Senate.

These findings indicate that the political recruitment process to the Illinois General Assembly for women is similar to that documented for men. The women elected to the Illinois General Assembly displayed "progressive ambitions" and have followed the political opportunity structure as described by Schlesinger (1966). The high incidence of women legislators who have held prior political office illuminates their access to the "pool of eligibles".

Table 13. WOMEN LEGISLATORS - PRIOR POLITICAL OFFICE

	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>
PRIOR APPOINTED OFFICE		
YES	6 28.6%	19 26%
NO	15 71.4%	54 74%

PRIOR ELECTED OFFICE		
YES	14 66.7%	26 35.6%
NO	7 35.6%	47 64.4%

SOURCE: Illinois Blue Books.

The average number of sessions served by the women elected to the House of Representatives between 1922 and 1986 was 3.5 sessions. Among those women who held Senate office, the average number of sessions served was 3. It is important to note that these averages were skewed by the fact that two women each served 14+ sessions. Lottie Holman O'Neill held office for 19 sessions (or thirty-eight years) : 6 in the Senate and 13 in the House. Bernice T. VanDerVries served 14 session in the House of Representatives. Forty-seven (47) of the 83 women elected have served 3 sessions or less. Appendix 4 lists the number of sessions served by house for all women elected through 1986.

Based on data contained in Lawmaking In Illinois, it is possible to compare and contrast women legislators as a group to their male counterparts. This study compared the data on

all women elected to the Illinois General Assembly to time-specific data on an isolated general assembly, the 83rd General Assembly elected in 1982. The data compiled by VanDerSlik and Redfield is aggregate data so it necessarily included data on women as well as men. No distinctions based upon sex were made. Nonetheless a comparison of the two data sets will permit an analysis of approximate differences and similarities between women and men legislators in Illinois.

When the ages of women legislators were compared to the ages of all legislators who served in the 83rd General Assembly, similar patterns were uncovered. Legislators were middle-aged when elected. The House of Representatives tended to be a younger body than the Senate, where between 43 - 50% of its members were 50 years old or older.

As can be seen in Table 14, women who have been elected to the legislature have tended to be middle-aged. Of the women who have held office, more than half were 40 years old or older. However, women who were between 21 - 39 comprised the largest subgroup. Among those women elected to the Senate, the largest proportion (43%) was women 50 years or older. The House of Representatives was a relatively younger body than the Senate. In the House, the single largest group of women as categorized by age were those women aged 21-39 years. These women totalled 44% of all women elected to date. Nonetheless, the majority (56%) of women elected to the House of Representatives were 40 years old and older.

An examination of Table 15 indicates that the 83rd General Assembly was composed primarily of members 40 years

old and older. Within this particular session, Senators were an older group than the Representatives. Nearly 50% of the Senators in the 83rd General Assembly were 50 years old and older. Only 10% of all Senators were younger than 40 years old. In the House, 31% of its members were younger than 40 years old. Despite this large number of younger members, the largest subgroup (42%) was comprised of legislators who were 50 years old and older.

These patterns follow similar themes as those found among women legislators. That is, the House of Representatives tends to be a younger body than the Senate, where between 43% - 50% of its members are 50 years old or older.

When age is examined according to partisan affiliation, women Senators of both parties were older. Table 16 presents the age of women legislators by house and by party. Among Republican women Senators, almost 67% were 40 years old or older. Nearly 42% of these women were 50 years old or older. Although approximately 56% of Democratic women Senators were older than 40, 44% were between the age of 21-39 -- a slightly larger percentage (11%) than among Republican women Senators.

This variance is also observed among women elected to the House of Representatives. Fifty-nine percent (59%) of Democrat women Representatives were between ages 21-39 when first elected; whereas only 35% of the Republican women were among the youngest age category. Sixty-five percent (65%) of the Republican women were older than 40 years old and thirty-

seven percent (37%) of those women were aged 50+.

Table 17 provides the ages of all legislators elected to the 83rd G.A. according to house and party. The aggregate membership data reflects an older legislative body. This is true for legislators of both parties. Several differences between the political parties are also evident. Senate Democrats were older than their Republican counterparts. Ninety-four percent (94%) of Democratic Senators were 40 years old or older.

A smaller, but still relatively large percentage (85%) of Republican Senators were 40 years old or older. This broad pattern of older Democrats is similar among the House of Representatives. Democrat Representatives were older than Republican Representatives. Among Democrats, 45% of the Representatives were 50+ and among Republicans, 37% were 50+.

TABLE 14. AGE OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS WHEN FIRST ELECTED

<u>AGE</u>	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
21 - 39	8 38.1%	32 43.8%	40
40 - 49	4 19%	19 26%	23
50+	9 42.9%	22 30.1%	31

SOURCES: Same as Table 6.

TABLE 15. AGE OF ILLINOIS LEGISLATORS - 83RD G.A.

<u>AGE</u>	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
21 - 39	6 10%	36 31%	42
40 - 49	24 41%	32 27%	56
50+	29 49%	50 42%	79

SOURCE: VanDerSlik & Redfield, Lawmaking In Illinois, 1986

TABLE 16. AGE OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS BY PARTY

	<u>DEMOCRATS (36)</u>		<u>REPUBLICANS (58)</u>	
	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>
<u>AGE</u>				
21 - 39	4 44.4%	16 59.3%	4 33.3%	16 34.8%
40 - 49	1 11.1%	6 22.2%	3 25%	13 28.3%
50+	4 44.4%	5 18.5%	5 41.7%	17 37%

SOURCES: Same as Table 6.

TABLE 17. AGE OF LEGISLATORS IN 83rd G.A. BY PARTY

	<u>DEMOCRATS</u>		<u>REPUBLICANS</u>	
	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>
<u>AGE</u>				
21 - 39	2 6%	18 26%	4 15%	18 37%
40 - 49	18 55%	20 29%	6 23%	12 26%
50+	13 39%	32 45%	16 62%	18 37%

SOURCE: VanDerSlik & Redfield, Lawmaking In Illinois, 1986

With regard to educational status, women who have been elected to the Illinois Senate are an "elite group". Like their male counterparts, the women elected to the General Assembly had attained higher levels of education than the citizen at-large.

As evidenced by the comparison of the two data sets, men and women legislators possessed similarly high levels of educational attainment. The main difference illuminated by this comparison suggests that women required higher levels of education than their male counterparts to be elected to Senate office. Of the 21 women elected to the Senate, almost half had earned advanced degrees as compared to 37% of all legislators elected in 1982. Hence, for women, there seems to be a significant relationship between level of education and chamber served in. Based on these observations, it appears stated that women need an "extra boost" as provided by educational resources in order to achieve election to the Senate - the "upper", more prestigious chamber of the Illinois General Assembly.

Table 18 lists the number and the percentage of women according to degree earned. Almost 48% of these women possessed advanced degrees. Fourteen percent (14%) of the women with advanced degrees had law degrees or Ph.D.'s. Another 48% had attained Bachelor degrees and only about 5% reported only an high school diploma. Overall, this group of women was quite well-educated.

The women elected to the House of Representatives were similarly well-educated; however, not as many of these women had earned advanced degrees as compared to Senate women. The majority (63%) of the women elected to the House had Bachelor degrees. Nearly one-fourth (23%) of women Representatives had advanced degrees, and again, almost 14% of the women with advanced degrees had law degrees or Ph.D.'s. The House women exhibited a substantially larger percentage (14%) of women who had only an high school diploma.

As a whole, the patterns of educational attainment for the women who served in the General Assembly indicate a well-educated group of women. Twenty-eight percent (28%) of the women elected to the Illinois General Assembly had earned advanced degrees. Sixty percent (60%) had earned Bachelor's and just 12% had only high school diplomas.

When the data for overall membership of the 83rd General Assembly is analyzed, slight differences between the women legislators as compared to "all" legislators emerged. Table 19 provides data on the educational level of all legislators in the 83rd General Assembly as adapted from VanDerslik & Redfield (1986).

Within the Senate of the 83rd session, a greater percentage of members reported only an high school diploma. In fact, almost 10% more legislators had earned only an high school diploma. Fourteen percent of all legislators in the 83rd Senate reported high school diplomas, whereas only one women among those women elected to the Senate to date

possessed an high school diploma. Also, the aggregate data on the 83rd Senate indicated that, as a group, Senate members held fewer advanced degrees than Senate women. Ten percent (10%) more women Senators had achieved advanced degrees as compared to the general Senate membership of the 83rd General Assembly.

The trend of women having higher educational levels is reversed when the 83rd House membership is contrasted to the group of women elected to the House. Among all legislators elected in 1982, an higher percentage (14% more) possessed graduate degrees than the women elected to the House over-time. This disparity in advanced degrees is tempered by the fact that the general membership displayed fewer college degrees than the group of elected women. The House of Representatives of the 83rd General Assembly reported 18% fewer members with college degrees than the group of women Representatives. Also, within the 83rd House, there were slightly more (3%) members with only high school diplomas than women with high school diplomas. Overall, however, the House of Representatives elected in 1982 was characterized by well-educated members. Thirty-seven percent (37%) of all legislators had graduate degrees, 46% had college degrees and 16% had only high school diplomas.

TABLE 18. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS
SENATE HOUSE TOTAL

EDUCATION

H.S. DIPLOMA	1 4.8%	10 13.7%	11 11.7%
BACHELOR'S	10 47.6%	46 63%	56 59.6%
MASTER'S	7 33.3%	7 9.6%	14 14.9%
LLB/PH.D.	3 14.3%	10 13.7%	13 13.8%

SOURCES: Same as Table 6.

TABLE 19. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF ALL LEGISLATORS - 83rd G.A.

SENATE HOUSE TOTAL

EDUCATION

H.S. DIPLOMA	8 14%	21 17%	29 16%
COLLEGE DEGREE	29 49%	53 45%	82 46%
GRADUATE DEGREE	22 37%	44 37%	66 37%

SOURCE: VanDerSlik & Redfield, Lawmaking in Illinois, 1986

When educational levels were examined by party affiliation, several variances were apparent. Table 20 presents the data of education by party affiliation. Among the women Senators, an higher proportion of Democrats than Republicans held advanced degrees. Fifty-six percent (56%) of the Democratic women who have held Senate office had attained advanced degrees. One woman among the Senate Republicans had only an high school diploma. No woman of the Senate Democrats had less than a Bachelor's degree.

An analysis of the educational levels of women elected to the House of Representatives yielded a similar pattern. Again, more Democratic women than Republican women held advanced degrees. Also, the Democratic women Representatives reported fewer high school diplomas than the Republicans. Seventeen percent (17%) of the Republican women held only high school diplomas; 7% of the Democrat women held only high school diplomas. It appears that for both houses, Democratic women had overall higher levels of education than their Republican counterparts. This difference might be explained , in part, by the fact that, traditionally , the Democratic party has viewed education as a vehicle of equality and enlightenment. As such, the pursuit of advanced education is an integral value of Democratic ideology.

As compared to the aggregate data on the 83rd General Assembly membership, these trends are reversed. Table 21 contains the data on the 83rd General Assembly. Within the 83rd General Assembly, Senate Democrats as a group had

overall lower educational levels than Senate Republicans, but also accounted for a considerably higher number of advanced degrees. Among the Senate Democrats in the 83rd General Assembly, 18% held only high school diplomas, 36% had college degrees, and 45% had obtained advanced degrees. Eighty-one percent (81%) of all Senate Democrats had at least a college degree. Of the Senate Republicans, 8% held only high school diplomas, 65% had college degrees, and 27% held advanced degrees. Overall, then, 92% of the Republican Senators in the 83rd General Assembly possessed a college degree.

A similar trend was evident for the 83rd House of Representatives. Republicans who served in the 83rd House had attained higher levels of education than the Democrats in the House. Ninety-two percent (92%) of the Republicans reported, at minimum, a college degree; 76% of the Democrats had, at minimum, a college degree. Nearly one-fourth (24%) of the Democrats had only an high school diploma, whereas only 8% of the Republican Representatives had only high school diplomas.

TABLE 20. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF WOMEN LEGISLATORS BY PARTY

	<u>DEMOCRATS</u>		<u>REPUBLICANS</u>	
	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>
<u>EDUCATION</u>				
H.S. DIPLOMA	-	2	1	8
	-	7.4%	8.3%	17.4%
BACHELOR'S	4	16	6	30
	44.4%	59.3%	50%	65.2%
MASTER'S	4	2	3	5
	44.4%	7.4%	25%	10.9%
LLB/PH.D.	1	7	2	3
	11.1%	25.9%	16.7%	6.5%

SOURCES: Same as Table 6.

TABLE 21. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF LEGISLATORS IN 83rd G.A. BY PARTY

	<u>DEMOCRATS</u>		<u>REPUBLICANS</u>	
	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>
<u>EDUCATION</u>				
H.S. DIPLOMA	6	17	2	4
	18%	24%	8%	8%
COLLEGE DEGREE	12	28	17	25
	36%	40%	65%	52%
GRADUATE	15	25	7	19
	45%	36%	27%	40%

SOURCE: VanDerSlik & Redfield, Lawmaking In Illinois, 1986

Tables 22 and 23 provide information regarding the occupational backgrounds of all women legislators elected through 1986 and all legislators elected to the 83rd General Assembly in 1982. A comparison between the two data sets should be examined with discretion because occupational data

were coded differently. For example, the data set used in this study did not include a category for full-time legislator as did the data set used by VanDerSlik and Redfield. In spite of these limits, a broad comparison will permit general statement of the similarities and the differences in occupational backgrounds of male and female legislators.

The comparison of the occupational backgrounds of women legislators and the legislators of the 83rd General Assembly revealed that, as a group, women displayed lower levels of occupational resources which have traditionally encouraged the development of a political career. Only half as many women as men were lawyers. Almost eight times as many women as men were educators. Moreover, three times as many women as men reported social service occupational backgrounds. a similarity between the occupational backgrounds of women legislators and all legislators of the 83rd General Assembly was found in the area of business/management. Roughly equivalent percentages of both groups reported occupations related to business/management.

Almost 11% of all women legislators reported their occupation as lawyers, whereas 23% of all legislators in the 83rd General Assembly listed lawyer as their occupation. Only 3% of the legislators in the 83rd General Assembly considered themselves educators as compared to 23% of all women legislators. Approximately 14% of the women legislators identified occupations related to business/management. A similar percentage (16%) of the legislators of the 83rd

General Assembly reported occupations within the realm of business/finance. A comparison of the social services occupation category reveals that 6% of all women legislators indicated employment in this area, whereas only 2% of all legislators in the 83rd General Assembly were in social service occupations.

Among the women elected to the Senate, 14% were lawyers, 19% were teachers/educators, and 19% were in business/management. Of those women elected to the House, a smaller proportion (10%) were lawyers; one-fourth were teachers/educators, and 12% reported occupations in business/management.

The variances between the occupational backgrounds of female legislators and all legislators of the 83rd General Assembly, (read male legislators), are reflective of broader social and historical trends, which can to a large extent be explained by discrimination against women. During the first half of the 20th century, women's entrance into college was restricted. Educational opportunities for women were limited to a privileged few; consequently women's professional employment opportunities were constrained. In the last twenty years, educational and occupational discrimination against women has been mollified.

As a result of increased educational opportunities and achievements, women have experienced significant progress and inroads into professional careers. Twenty years ago, women earned approximately 32% of master's degrees and 10% of doctoral degrees. In 1985 women earned half of all bachelor's

and master's degrees, and more than one-third of doctoral degrees. Women's fastest progress has been in professional areas. In 1985, women earned 30% of all medical degrees as compared to only 1.3% in 1975 and 38% of all law degrees as compared to 15% in 1975 (Silk, 1987).

Given the findings of the comparison of the occupations of women legislators to those of all legislators, it appears that women possess somewhat lower levels of "achieved" resources. This implies that structural barriers have impeded female representation. However, it must be emphasized that such discrepancies are eroding and that over the last twenty years, women have entered prestigious occupations in ever-increasing numbers. Women's career patterns are becoming similar to those of men. Such a convergence will enhance the probability of women's inclusion among the "pool of eligibles". Consequently, eligibility criterion with respect to occupation should become more similar for men and women seeking political office.

The results of the comparison of the educational levels and the occupational status of both male and female legislators support Hypothesis 5. That is, over-time, the "achieved resources" of women legislators are comparable to their male counterparts. Moreover, it is reasonable to speculate that the existing differences will continue to wane.

Table 22. OCCUPATIONS OF ILLINOIS WOMEN LEGISLATORS

OCCUPATION	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
LAWYER	3 14.3%	7 9.6%	10 10.6%
TEACHER/ EDUCATOR	4 19%	18 24.7%	22 23.4%
SOCIAL SERVICES	2 9.5%	4 5.5%	6 6.4%
BUSINESS/ MG'T.	4 19%	9 12.3%	13 13.8%
OTHER PROFESSIONAL	4 19%	16 21.9%	20 21.3%
OTHER	4 19%	19 26%	23 24.5%

SOURCE: Illinois Blue Books.

Table 23. OCCUPATIONS OF LEGISLATORS - 83RD G.A.

OCCUPATION	<u>SENATE</u>	<u>HOUSE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
FULL-TIME LEGISLATOR	23 39%	58 49%	81 46%
LAWYER	15 25%	25 21%	40 23%
BUSINESS/ FINANCE	14 24%	14 12%	28 16%
REAL ESTATE/ INSURANCE	1 2%	6 5%	7 4%
LOCAL GOV'T.	0 0	5 4%	5 3%
EDUCATOR	2 3%	4 3%	6 3%
HEALTH/SOCIAL SERVICE	1 2%	2 2%	3 2%
FARMER	3 5%	4 3%	7 4%
OTHER	0 0	0 0	0 0

SOURCE: VanDerSlik & Redfield, Lawmaking in Illinois,
1986: p.69.

DISCUSSION

A composite examination of the women elected to the Illinois General Assembly exposes an interesting view of the characteristics which appear to encourage election to state legislative office. The profile of the typical woman legislator in Illinois could be described as follows: a woman in her forties, who is married and lives in either an urban or suburban community; she is likely white and Protestant, and has completed college; this woman has actively volunteered for many years in civic, political and church organizations and has probably held an elected or appointed local political office prior to state legislative office; finally, she would have been professionally employed before serving in the General Assembly.

When compared to their male counterparts, women legislators in Illinois are similar in regard to both ascribed and achieved characteristics. The results of this study point to an ever-increasing likeness between men and women state legislative elite in Illinois. Both male and female legislators in Illinois tend to be middle-aged and married. For both men and women, ultimate election to state legislative office occurs after one has become "established" in "life" as well as the political arena. For women, entry into state legislative politics at the life-phase of middle-aged suggests a delay until after so-called "child-bearing

years". Previous research has also documented a similar trend among female state legislators (Kirkpatrick, 1974).

Levels of educational attainment were comparable for male and female state elite. Both possessed higher levels of education than the average citizen. A specific difference between the educational levels of women and men legislators was evident among those elected to the Senate. Women who have been elected to the Illinois Senate had earned higher levels of education than male Senators. This observation implies that women require an "extra boost" which is provided by advanced education to secure a seat in the "upper ranks" of the Senate.

Based on data from this study, women, when compared to men, exhibited somewhat lower levels of occupational resources which have traditionally given rise to a political career. This disparity is, however, diminishing, as more women pursue "prestigious" professional careers. Finally, with respect to "political careers", women resembled men in that both had typically occupied prior political office before election to the state legislature. This similarity alludes to commensurate "progressive ambitions" among the men and women elected to the Illinois General Assembly. Also, it can be inferred that the political opportunity structure is defined in parallel fashion for both men and women seeking state legislative office. Differences between male and female legislative elites in Illinois are, indeed, lessening.

Since 1922, women have achieved legislative seats in every subsequent session of the legislature. Initially, the

numbers of women legislators were minimal, but their presence yielded a stable base for future progress. Only since the 1970's have women realized a substantial growth in their numbers of legislative seats. The last decade of Illinois politics has witnessed steadily increasing levels of female representation at the State House in Springfield. The election of 1972 was a turning point in the representation of women in the legislature. From this point, the ranks of women legislators grew exponentially. As of the 1986 election, women comprised 18% of the total General Assembly membership, which was slightly higher than the national average of 15.8% . Today, women legislators are entrenched in both houses of the Illinois General Assembly.

Patterns of female representation in the Illinois General Assembly appear to be related to broader social events and historical trends. Recall that the election of the first woman to the Illinois Legislature took place in 1922, two years after the passage of the 19th Amendment . The impact of the women's suffrage movement created the necessary social climate to stimulate the election of women. Likewise, the contemporary feminist movement of the late 1960's and early '70's produced the conditions required for the inclusion of women in the "political arena". Women demanded greater political representation of women within the the historically male-dominated political institutions. Out of the women's movement emerged a ground swell of energy which insisted that women's "appropriate role" be reexamined. Clearly, explanations for the tremendous and rapid increase

in the levels of female representation are rooted in the social and cultural transformations generated by the women's movement. This interpretation is further supported by the observance of a "lag effect" in the numbers of women elected to the General Assembly and the houses to which elected.

In conjunction with and related to the changes in social mores and cultural norms which were precipitated by the women's movement, women's economic roles were also reevaluated. Women not only entered the workforce in large numbers, more importantly, they sought previously male-dominated professions, from which women had been excluded due to tradition, discrimination, and socialization.

The reduction of structural barriers to the "equal opportunity" of women have propelled women into the "public domain". Women have attained a legitimate political role in American society. As a consequence, the elite recruitment process has concomitantly been influenced.

Today, women are the majority of American citizens. The demographic shift from more absolute numbers of men to more women has fundamentally altered the political landscape. Combined with "equal" access to education, occupational endeavors, etc., the increased politicization of women has supplied more women for inclusion into the "pool of eligibles". Women are now recognized as both qualified and competent to serve as political elite. Based upon the findings for the Illinois General Assembly, it is apparent that the political opportunity structure is more open to women than ever before. To some extent (although not an

"equal" or proportional extent), women share in the power of the once exclusively-male legislature.

Women have established inroads to the elite recruitment process. Women who have been elected to the Illinois General Assembly possessed similar levels of "achieved resources" as compared to male legislators. Women appear to require comparable credentials as men to successfully pass the "endorsement" stage. As well, the results of this study suggest that, for women, active organizational and party involvement encourage the development of skills and resources necessary for political success. This finding is supported by the earlier works of Kirkpatrick (1974), Merritt (1977), and Welch (1978). Such high levels of volunteerism and political party work likely produce significant "political" benefits, such as leadership skills, visibility and even a potential constituency and political base.

Women's acquisition of the skills and resources needed in the political recruitment process enhances the probability that more women will be elected to the Illinois General Assembly. Also, in order to preserve and to continue to increase the levels of female representation, it will be imperative to maintain women in their legislative seats once elected. In light of women's improved access to the elite recruitment process and the career convergence evident between male and female legislative elite, future gains in the number of Illinois women legislators is predictable.

Although significant gains have been achieved for women in the Illinois state legislature and incremental progress

will likely continue, women remain proportionately underrepresented in the General Assembly. Remember that women legislators account for less than one-fourth of total membership. Within the context of "representational democracy", the paucity of women among the state legislative "ruling elite" persists as a contradiction. It is crucial that additional research explore how to expand women's political power base. Despite the seeming stability in women's political representation, the actual number is still in transition. Change has only been actualized over the last ten years -- a very short period of time from which to assess growth in patterns of representation. Has the level of female representation in the Illinois General Assembly reached a plateau? Will women achieve a more balanced proportion of overall membership?

Such queries remain to be examined. Many questions can be investigated. Even though it is clear that women are "political animals" and can successfully run for state legislative office, do women rely on different networks and political constituencies than their male counterpart? Electoral considerations were not analyzed in this study. Future research could address the issues of electoral constraints upon female representation.

Moreover, it would be prudent to perform a more refined analysis with respect to the independent effects of institutional and structural changes upon representation. Due to the limits of the study, it was not possible to determine with certainty what these effects might be. It is difficult

to separate the effects of the structural changes from those of the modified electoral mechanisms. Further investigation will be necessary to understand the impact of the elimination of cumulative voting and the abandonment of multi-member districts. The impact of the electoral changes may be masked by the structural changes and vice versa.

As well, the relationship between race and urban politics needs to be further scrutinized to comprehend its influence upon female representation. Specifically, are race and urban politics intercorrelated? The data must be more thoroughly analyzed to rule out confounding effects upon female representation in the Illinois General Assembly.

Finally, the question of women's reelection needs to be examined. Are women equally competitive in multi-member and single-member districts ? What is the competition within respective districts? How do the turnover rates of women legislators compare to male legislators? How do women fare against male incumbents? For those women who have served for more than 3 terms , what characteristics separate them for those women who have not had similar tenures ?

It becomes obvious that many questions are left unanswered. As women political elites become more pervasive in our political institutions, the research on political behavior , political participation and gender differences will be enriched and more complex.

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APPENDIX 1

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES INCLUDED IN STUDY

<u>Election Year</u>	<u>Session</u>	<u>Election Year</u>	<u>Session</u>
1922	53rd	1956	70th
1924	54th	1958	71st
1926	55th	1960	72nd
1928	56th	1962	73rd
1930	57th	1964 At-Large	74th
1932	58th	1966	75th
1934	59th	1968	76th
1936	60th	1970	77th
1938	61st	1972	78th
1940	62nd	1974	79th
1942	63rd	1976	80th
1944	64th	1978	81st
1946	65th	1980	82nd
1948	66th	1982	83rd
1950	67th	1984	84th
1952	68th	1986	85th
1954	69th		

APPENDIX 2

WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN ILLINOIS 1922-1986

<u>NAME</u>	<u>YEAR FIRST ELECTED OR APPOINTED</u>	<u>ASSEMBLIES SERVED</u>	<u>PARTY</u>
<u>SENATE</u>			
Bohrer, Florence Fifer	1924	54,55,56,57	R
Collins, Earlean	1976	80,81,82,83,84,85	D
Green, Madge Miller	1962 (widow)	73	R
Hickey, Vivian	1974*	78,79,80	D
Holmberg, Joyce	1982	83,84,85	D
Keegan, Betty Ann	1972 (died in office)	78	D
Kent-Donahue, Laura	1981*	82,83,84,85	R
Netsch, Dawn Clark	1972	78,79,80,81,82,83, 84,85	D
Schlagenhauf, Lillian	1952	68,69,70,71,72,73	R
Severns, Penny	1986	85	D

 *Appointed to Office Total: 10 (4 R; 6 D)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES & SENATE

Alexander, Ethel Skyles	1978 H	81,82,83,84	D
	1986 S*	85	
Fawell, Beverly	1980 H	82	R
	1982 S	83,84,85	
Geo-Karis, Adeline J.	1972 H	78,79,80	R
	1978 S	81,82,83,84,85	
Karpiel, Doris C.	1978 H	81,82,83	R
	1984 S	84,85	
Kent, Mary Lou	1972 H	78,79,80,81	R
	1980 S (died in office)	82	
Macdonald, Virginia	1972 H	78,79,80,81,82	R
	1982 S	83,84,85	
Martin, Lynn	1976 H	80	R
	1978 S	81	
O'Neill, Lottie Holman	1922 H	53,54,55,56,58,59, 60,61,62,63,64,65,66	R
	1950 S	67,68,69,70,71,72	
Saperstein, Esther	1956 H	70,71,72,73,74	D
	1966 S	75,76,77,78	
Smith, Margaret	1980 H	82	D
	1982 S	83,84,85	
Topinka, Judy Baar	1980 H	82,83	R
	1984 S	84,85	

 * Appointed to Office Total: 11 (8 R; 3 D)

WOMEN LEGISLATORS IN ILLINOIS 1922-1986

<u>NAME</u>	<u>YEAR FIRST ELECTED OR APPOINTED</u>	<u>ASSEMBLIES SERVED</u>	<u>PARTY</u>
<u>HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES</u>			
Balanoff, Miriam	1978	81,82	D
Barnes, Jane M.	1974	79,80,81,82,83 84,85	R
Barnes, Lizzie	1938	61	D
Braun, Carol Moseley	1978	81,82,83,84,85	D
Breslin, Peg McDonnell	1976	80,81,82,83,84,85	D
Catania, Susan	1972	78,79,80,81,82	R
Chapman, Eugenia S.	1964 At-Large	74,75,76,77,78,79, 80,81,82	D
Cheney, Flora Sylvester	1928 (died in office)	56	R
Clements, Floy	1958	71	D
Cowlishaw, Mary Lou	1982	83,84,85	R
Currie, Barbara Flynn	1978	81,82,83,84,85	D
Davidson, Mary	1930	57,58	D
Davis, Monique	1986	85	D
Dawson, Frances L.	1956	70,71,72,73,74,75,76	R
Deuchler, Suzanne	1980	82,83,84,85	R
Didrickson, Loleta	1982	83,84,85	R
Doerderlein, Deloris	1986	85	R
Dyer, Goudylock "Giddy"	1968	76,77,78,79,80,81	R
Elrod, Rena	1924	54,55,56	R
Flowers, Mary E.	1984	84,85	D
Frederick, Virginia Fiester	1978	81,82,83,84,85	R
Goode, Katherine Hancock	1924	54,55	R
Green, Mabel E.	1948	66,67,68,69,70,71,72	R
Grow, Dorah	1964 At-Large	74	D
Hallstrom, Mary Jeanne	1978	81,82	R
Hanley, Sarah Bond	1926	55,56	D
Hasara, Karen	1986*	85	R
Hoxsey, Betty J.	1976	80,81,82	R
Hurley, Jeanne C.	1956	70,71	D
Ickes, Anna Wilmarth	1928	56,57,58	R
Jones, Lovana	1986	85	D
Karmazyn, Lillian	1968	76,77	R
Koehler, Judy	1980	82,83,84	R
Markette, Sharon	1982	83	D
Martin, Peggy Smith	1972/1976	78,80	D
McAdams, Mary C.	1926	55,56	D
McCaskrin, Hazel A.	1946	65,67,68,69	R
McCormick, Hope	1964 At-Large	74	R
Meany, Mary K.	1964 At-Large	74,75	R
Nelson, Diana	1980	82,83	R
Oblinger, Josephine	1978	81,82,83,84	R
Parcells, Margaret	1984	84,85	R
Pebworth, Marjorie	1964 At-Large	74,75(died in office)	R
Peffer, Maude N.	1938	61,62,63,64,65,66, 67,68,69	R
Perry, Josephine	1930	57,58	R
Pierce, Ferne Carter	1956	70,71,72	D

Piotrowski, Lillian	1950	67,68,69,70,71, 72,73	D
Pullen, Penny	1976	80,81,82,83,84,85	R
Reed, Betty Lou	1974	79,80,81,82	R
Rinaker, Pauline	1952	68,69	R
Satterthwaite, Helen	1974	79,80,81,82,83,84,85	D
Stern, Grace Mary	1984	84,85	D
Stewart, Monica Faith	1980	82	D
Stiehl, Celeste M.	1972	78,79,80,81,82	R
Sumner, Mary Lou	1976	80,81	R
Suthers, Marie H.	1950	67	R
VanDerVries, Bernice T.	1934	59,60,61,62,63,64, 65,66,67,68,69	R
Willer, Anne Walsh	1974	79,80,81	D
Williamson, Linda	1984	84,85	R
Wojcik, Kathleen	1982	83,84,85	R
Younge, Wyvetter H.	1974	79,80,81,82,83,84,85	D
Zwick, Jill	1980	82,83,84	R

 *Appointed to Office

Total: 62 (38 R; 24 D)

APPENDIX 3

BLACK WOMEN LEGISLATORS

<u>NAME</u>	<u>YEAR FIRST ELECTED</u>	<u>ASSEMBLIES SERVED</u>	<u>CHAMBER</u>
Alexander, Ethel Skyles	1978 1986*	81,82,83,84 85	House Senate
Braun, Carol Moseley	1978	81,82,83,84,85	House
Clements, Floy	1958	71	House
Collins, Earlean	1976	80,81,82,83,84,85	Senate
Davis, Monique	1986	85	House
Flowers, Mary E.	1984	84,85	House
Jones, Lovana	1986	85	House
Markette, Sharon	1982	83	House
Martin, Peggy Smith	1972/1976	78,80	House
Smith, Margaret	1980 1982	82 83,84,85	House Senate
Stewart, Monica Faith	1980	82	House
Younge, Wyvetter H.	1974	79,80,81,82,83, 84,85	House

 *Appointed then elected in Fall General Election.

APPENDIX 4

ILLINOIS WOMEN LEGISLATORS
NUMBER OF SESSIONS SERVED

<u>Name</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Total</u>
Alexander, Ethel Skyles	1	4	5
Balanoff, Miriam	-	2	2
Barnes, Jane M.	-	7	7
Barnes, Lizzie	-	1	1
Bohrer, Florence Fifer	4	-	4
Braun, Carol Moseley	-	5	5
Breslin, Peg McDonnell	-	6	6
Catania, Susan	-	5	5
Chapman, Eugenia	-	9	9
Cheney, Flora Sylvester	-	1	1
Clements, Floy	-	1	1
Collins, Earlean	6	-	6
Cowlshaw, Mary Lou	-	3	3
Currie, Barbara Flynn	-	5	5
Davidson, Mary	-	2	2
Davis, Monique	-	1	1
Dawson, Frances L.	-	7	7
Deuchler, Suzanne	-	4	4
Didrickson, Loleta A.	-	3	3
Doerderlein, Deloris	-	1	1
Dyer, Goudylock "Giddy"	-	6	6
Elrod, Rena	-	3	3
Fawell, Beverly	3	1	4
Flowers, Mary E.	-	2	2
Frederick, Virginia Fiester	-	5	5
Geo-Karis, Adeline	5	3	8
Goode, Katherine Hancock	-	2	2
Green, Mabel E.	-	7	7
Green, Madge Miller	1	-	1
Grow, Dorah	-	1	1
Hallstrom, Mary Jeanne	-	2	2
Hanley, Sarah Bond	-	2	2
Hasara, Karen	-	1	1
Hickey, Vivian	3	-	3
Holmberg, Joyce	3	-	3
Hoxsey, Betty	-	3	3
Hurley, Jeanne C.	-	2	2
Ickes, Anna Wilmarth	-	3	3
Jones, Lovana	-	1	1
Karmazyn, Lillian	-	2	2
Karpiel, Doris C.	2	3	5
Keegan, Betty Ann	1	-	1
Kent-Donahue, Laura	4	-	4
Kent, Mary Lou	1	4	5
Koehler, Judy	-	3	3
Macdonald Virginia	3	4	7
Markette, Sharon	-	1	1
Martin, Lynn	1	1	2

Martin, Peggy Smith	-	2	2
McAdams, Mary C.	-	2	2
McCaskrin, Hazel	-	4	4
McCormick, Hope	-	1	1
Meany, Mary K.	-	2	2
Nelson, Diana	-	2	2
Netsch, Dawn Clark	8	-	8
Oblinger, Josephine	-	4	4
O'Neill, Lottie Holman	6	13	19
Parcells, Margaret	-	2	2
Pebworth, Marjorie	-	2	2
Peppers, Maude N.	-	9	9
Perry, Josephine	-	2	2
Pierce, Ferne Carter	-	3	3
Piotrowski, Lillian	-	7	7
Pullen, Penny	-	6	6
Reed, Betty Lou	-	4	4
Rinaker, Pauline	-	2	2
Saperstein, Esther	4	5	9
Satterthwaite, Helen	-	7	7
Schlagenhauf, Lillian E.	6	-	6
Severns, Penny	1	-	1
Smith, Margaret	3	1	4
Stern, Grace Mary	-	2	2
Stewart, Monica Faith	-	1	1
Stiehl, Celeste M.	-	5	5
Sumner, Mary Lou	-	2	2
Suthers, Marie H.	-	1	1
Topinka, Judy Baar	2	2	4
VanDerVries, Bernice	-	14	14
Willer, Anne Walsh	-	3	3
Williamson, Linda	-	2	2
Wojcik, Kathleen	-	3	3
Younge Wyvetter H.	-	7	7
Zwick, Jill	-	3	3

Average number of sessions - SENATE	(3)
Average number of sessions - HOUSE	(3.5)
Average number of sessions - TOTAL	(4)

APPENDIX 5

VARIABLES LIST

- VAR. 1 HOUSE SERVED IN
 Senate 1
 House of Representatives 2
- VAR. 2 PARTY AFFILIATION
 Democrat 1
 Republican 2
- VAR. 3 YEAR 1ST ELECTED
 actual year
- VAR. 4 NUMBER OF SESSIONS SERVED
 actual number of sessions
- VAR. 5 DISTRICT
 Urban 1
 Suburban 2
 Downstate Metro 3
 Rural 4
 "At Large" 5
- VAR. 6 AGE WHEN FIRST ELECTED
 actual age
- VAR. 7 MARITAL STATUS WHEN ELECTED
 Single 1
 Married 2
 Divorced/Separated 3
 Widowed 4
- VAR. 8 EDUCATION (Highest Degree Attained)
 H.S. Diploma 1
 Bachelor's 3
 Master's 4
 L.L.B./Ph.D 5
- VAR. 9 OCCUPATION (Includes both full and part-time employment)
 Lawyer 1
 Teacher/Educator 2
 Social Services 3
 Business/Mg't. 4
 Other Professional 5
 Other 6
- VAR. 10 RACE
 Caucasian 1
 Black 2
 Other 8

VAR. 11 RELIGION
 Catholic 1
 Protestant 2
 Jewish 3
 Other 8
 Unknown/NA 9

VAR. 12 ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS (Includes civic, social,
 Yes 1 cultural, religious and
 No 2 professional organizations)

VAR. 13 MEMBERSHIP IN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION/PARTY ORGANIZATIONS
 Yes 1
 Not Reported 2

VAR. 14 MEMBER - LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
 Yes 1
 Not Reported 2

VAR. 15 PRIOR ELECTED OFFICE
 Yes 1
 No 2

VAR. 16 PRIOR APPOINTED OFFICE
 Yes 1
 No 2